The Life

of

Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri (c1923-1998)

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Statement of Authorship

This thesis is entirely my own work. This thesis contains no material previously published or written by myself or another person, except where reference is made in the thesis itself. This thesis has not previously been submitted towards a degree or diploma in any university or other higher education institution.

Alec B O'Halloran
June 27, 2013.

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The research project has received clearance from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the Australian National University: protocol 2009/098.

Aboriginal readers are advised that the following volume contains the names and images of deceased individuals.

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Abstract

Biographies of Australian Indigenous artists are a recent phenomenon. This thesis responds to a growing national and international interest in Indigenous lives and art by focusing on Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri, a Pintupi man whose life span coincided with the colonisation of the Western Desert region of Central Australia in the twentieth century. This thesis represents the first biography of Namarari and the first of a Pintupi individual. Importantly, it explores the long-term relationship between one of Papunya's founding artists and the Papunya Tula Artists organisation.

The question of how an Indigenous artist's biography may be written for a contemporary audience has received scant scholarly attention, with no apparent model of best practice for the genre. This cross-cultural study draws on the fields of anthropology, social history and art history and the practices of life writing, oral history and art analysis. A key concern is that of the visibility of the subject, given that he and the author never met. The biography was assembled from fragmentary data originating in existing oral history records and supplemented by interviews with relatives of Namarari and with art advisors who worked with him over three decades. The broad aim of the thesis is to respond to the questions: what can a study of Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri's life and art career tell us about him as a individual, and then, how does that illuminate our understanding of the Pintupi people and the development of Papunya Tula art?

Namarari's life story is presented chronologically and takes into account his culture, family life and art practice. He survived the transition from a traditional lifestyle into and through the fraught cross-cultural milieu of European colonisation. Namarari's adaptive responses to changing government policies were counter-balanced by a quiet determination to honour his culture's primary values. The recognition he achieved as an artist overshadows his less visible role as an unassuming cross-cultural educator. Namarari's legacy is demonstrably significant and worthy of posthumous recognition.

Acronyms

AM	Australian Museum, Sydney
AGNSW	Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney
AGSA	Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide
AGWA	Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra
CLC	Central Land Council, Alice Springs
FRM	Finke River Mission of the Lutheran Church, Hermannsburg
FUAM	Flinders University Art Museum, Adelaide
IAD	The Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs.
MAGNT	Museum and Art Galleries of the Northern Territory, Darwin
MCA	Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney
NGA	National Gallery of Australia, Canberra
NGV	National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
NMA	National Museum of Australia, Canberra
NTA	Northern Territory Administration
NTAS	Northern Territory Archive Service, Darwin and Alice Springs
PTA	Papunya Tula Artists, Alice Springs (administrative centre)
QAG	Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane
SRC	Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs
SAM	South Australian Museum, Adelaide
UAS	Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney
WDNWPT	The Western Desert Nganampa Walytja Palyantjaku Tjutaku Aboriginal Corporation, Alice Springs

List of Illustrations

Photograph credits:
Figs. 1,2,3,4,14,17,18,27,28 (Alec O'Halloran); Figs.10,11,12,13 (Phillip Toyne); Fig. 26 (John Corker); Fig. 31 (Karen Coldrey). Use of painting and certificate images for research purposes with PTA approval.

Namarari's artworks:
Details of illustrated artworks appear on the following page.

List of Namarari's illustrated artworks

PTA number/title*	Year	Medium	Size (cms)
Ceremonial Medicine story	1971	polymer paint on composition board	40 x 20
19123A 'Kangaroos sleeping, grass in the rocks'	1972	powder paint on composition board	53 x 46
MN731154 'Mingatjara corroboree or Possums come home'	1973	acrylic on chipboard	123 x 90
MN780126 'Many Dreamings'	1978	acrylic/Belgian linen	360 x 210
MN821102 'Wallaby sleeping at Mintjilpirri'	1982	acrylic/Belgian linen	102 x 102
MN8605114 'Wanampi at Piltartinya'	1986	acrylic/Belgian linen	153 x 122
MN871169 'Two Kangaroo Dreaming at Marnpi'	1987	acrylic/Belgian linen	78 x 40
MN940680 'Warru Dreaming at Marnpi'	1994	acrylic/Belgian linen	182 x 121
MN891111 'Kangaroo, Wallaby and Bird Dreaming at Manpinya'	1989	acrylic/Belgian linen	182 x 152
MN880919 'Kangaroo Dreaming at Marnpi'	1988	acrylic/Belgian linen	182 x 122
MN890643 'Two Kuningka Dreaming'	1989	acrylic/Belgian linen	182 x 122
MN900742 'Kangaroo Dreaming at Mintjilpirri	1990	acrylic/Belgian linen	183 x 122
MN940293 'Rain Dreaming at Tjiterangu'	1994	acrylic/Belgian linen	183 x 152
MN930630 'Dingo Dreaming at Nyunmanu'	1993	a acrylic/Belgian linen	91 x 91
MN970853 'Tjunginpa'	1997	acrylic/Belgian linen	153 x 122
MN980774 'Tjunginpa'	1998	acrylic/Belgian linen	153 x 122
MN9807159 'Tjunginpa'	1998	acrylic/Belgian linen	153 x 122

* PTA paintings are frequently 'Untitled'. In order to identify them here I am using the *tjukurrpa* or 'story' reference, together with the site name given by the artist, as stated in the original PTA field notes or PTA published certificates.


Map One
Australia
N
Darwin
Northern Territory
See Map Two
Alice Springs
Uluru
Western Australia
Queensland
Brisbane
South Australia
Perth
Pt Augusta
New South Wales
Australian Capital Territory
Sydney
Canberra
Adelaide
Victoria
Melbourne
Tasmania
Hobart

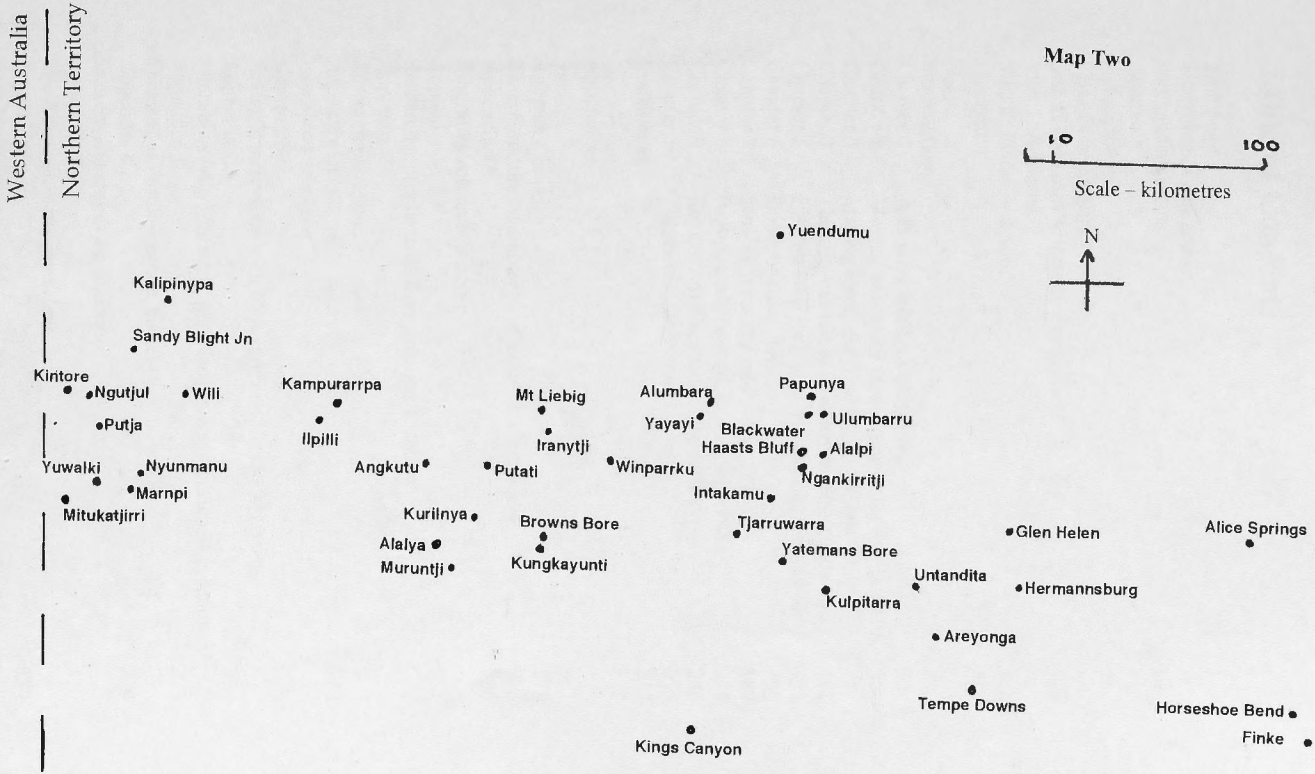
Western Australia
Northern Territory
Map Two
10
100
Scale – kilometres
N
Yuendumu
Kalipinypa
Sandy Blight Jn
Kintore
Ngutjul
Wili
Putja
Yuwalki
Nyunmanu
Marnpi
Mitukatjirri
Kampurarrpa
Ilpilli
Angkutu
Putati
Mt Liebig
Iranytji
Kurilnya
Alalya
Muruntji
Browns Bore
Kungkayunti
Alumbara
Yayayi
Winparrku
Intakamu
Papunya
Blackwater
Haasts Bluff
Ulumbarru
Alalpi
Ngankirritji
Tjarruwarra
Yatemans Bore
Kulpitarra
Glen Helen
Alice Springs
Untandita
Hermannsburg
Areyonga
Tempe Downs
Horseshoe Bend
Finke
Kings Canyon

Table of Contents

Introduction

This thesis is a biography of Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri (c1923-1998), a Pintupi man who became a significant Papunya Tula artist. His life story is one of many that illuminate the process of colonisation in Central Australia in the 20th century and is one strand of a broader still unfolding art history narrative.

Three arguments are central to this thesis. One, that biography is an avenue to describe and interpret Namarari's life and circumstances. Two, that through the prism of his life story we may enhance our understanding of the recent history of the Pintupi people and the Papunya Tula Artists organisation. Three that the multidisciplinary research approach employed here is applicable more generally to biographical studies of Indigenous artists.

A biographical study of an individual such as Namarari is timely if not overdue.[1] The brief and partial portrayals of Namarari's life and art constitute neither a wide-ranging description nor a reasoned explication. There are three primary reasons to choose Namarari as a biographical subject. The first is general: there are no published comprehensive autobiographies or biographies of any Pintupi people, thus this study breaks new ground. The second is specific: there is no comprehensive biography of Namarari, although a number of brief profiles[2] circulate (for example, in Perkins & Fink, 2000, p. 296; Batty 2007, pp. 17-28; Johnson 2008, pp. 40-42; Kean 2011, pp. 160-161), and he features in two documentary films, *Mick and the Moon* (1979) and *Benny and the Dreamers* (1993). None of these documents constitutes a biography. Thirdly, in relation to Namarari's art, there is no comprehensive account of the long-term relationship between any Aboriginal artist from Papunya's founding group of painters in 1971-72 and the Papunya Tula Artists organisation (hereafter PTA),[3] and there is no comprehensive account of his art career or his art practice, and no catalogue raisonne of his artistic output. Altogether these omissions represent significant gaps in the public record, especially given the Pintupi people have had direct contact with the colonists since the 1920s and PTA celebrated its 40th anniversary recently (November 2012).

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[1] The Australian Dictionary of Biography does not list Namarari or any Pintupi individual. It shows twelve Indigenous artists including Albert Namatjira but no PTA artists. <adb.anu.edu.au> viewed June 15, 2013.

[2] I distinguish between a profile (generally 100 words to several pages) and a biography on length, on the breadth and depth of research, and on the analysis and interpretation of material evidence.

[3] Johnson's 2003 account of Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri is as much the story of an artist who 'broke free of the collective identity of the Papunya Tula Artists' (Johnson, 2010, p. 146), though it is not a 'modernist biography' (2003, p. 16). Her 1994 'scholarly monograph' on Clifford Possum was the 'first in-depth study of an individual artist of the Papunya movement' (Johnson, 2010, p. 146).

This Introduction outlines my rationale and methodology to bring Namarari's life story into public view, which includes a consideration of the biography genre and to a lesser degree autobiography. It is my contention that the writing of an Indigenous artist's biography benefits from a multi-disciplinary approach and cannot solely rely on the evidence or perspective of a single discipline. In order to narrate Namarari's life story from a cross-cultural viewing point[4] this study draws on anthropology, art history and social history and the practices of oral history, life writing and formal art analysis. Many biographies of Indigenous Australians are characterised by intensive subject-author collaborations over time. In contrast, this project is somewhat experimental as Namarari and I never met, thus the ideal scenario of 'gaining his permission' was not possible and authorisation became 'other people's business' (see Read, 1992, p. 155).[5]

Theoretical considerations: the nature and purpose of biography

The writing and publication of biographies has a long history (see Parke, 2002[6]; Lee, 2009; Caine, 2010), with the word itself deriving from Greek, '*bios* life and *graphia* writing' (Lee, 2009, p. 5), and the term 'biographer' first becoming current in 1715 (Holmes, 1995, p. 20). Biography and autobiography are distinguished by authorship: in biography the life is narrated about the protagonist, whilst in autobiography the life is narrated by the protagonist (Haag, 2008, p. 6). That distinction in the authorial point of view shifts the standard or 'truth-criterion' by which the text might be judged according to Schlaeger (1995, p. 59), who contrasts 'the authenticity of an inside view' (of autobiography) with the requirement for a consistency in 'the narrative and the explanatory power of the arguments' (in biography).

Biography inhabits an interdisciplinary domain that is a site of academic debate. Criticism by historians of biographical writing relates *inter alia* to its 'ephemeral, psychological, anecdotal and individual qualities' (Brown, 2009, p. 599), which serve as a caution in the use and interpretation of evidence. Whilst some historians may question the validity and significance of both autobiography and memory for the understanding of history, Caine argues that 'the very existence of this discussion serves increasingly to demonstrate the impossibility of separating history any longer from either biography or autobiography in the ways which were so important to positivist historians across much of the nineteenth and twentieth

[4] I have Irish ancestors, was born an Australian citizen and have lived much of my life in our coastal cities.
[5] Authorisation is summarised in App. 4.
[6] Including chronology of biography from 3rd millennium to 6th century BCE to 1996 (Parke, 2002, pp. xxi-xxviii).

centuries' (2010, p. 84). In this thesis I aim to show that the histories of settlement development and the art movement in the Western Desert are *better* understood through biographical writing that includes the voices of Aboriginal people.

Biography is favourably promoted, though not without its critics, as a vehicle to enhance our understanding of human nature, the individual and the self, and history, culture and society. The application of understanding[7] includes 'the facts' (Niall, 2005, p. 2), 'a life' (Banner, 2009, p. 582), 'the subject' (Caine, 2010, p. 114), 'the workings of a life and the culture' (Plummer, 2001, p. 39), and 'a particular life in its broad social context' (Salvatore, 2009, p. 190). Ianziti (2003) contends that biography's 'fundamental dilemma' is whether it is 'concerned primarily with knowing an individual' or 'gaining an insight into the dynamics of social and historical events?' I agree with his proposition that to some extent it is both, though biography's suitability as a vehicle for understanding the self of the subject is a contentious issue.

As early as 1927 the well-known novelist Virginia Woolf issued a fundamental challenge to biographers, suggesting that when they attempted to contemplate the inner thoughts of another they inevitably slipped into the realm of fiction, and for her biography *was* fiction (Woolf, 1927, pp. 124-50). Numerous commentators have joined the debate and nearly a century later the question is unresolved. In 2007 Ray Monk asks 'is it possible to know with certainty the inner life of another?' (2007, p. 530) and Richard Holmes ponders 'how far can we understand another human being?'[8] Their questions suggest caution in making claims about the subject's self or inner life, since the overriding question 'how would we know that we do know with certainty the inner self of another?' has not been answered unequivocally. Monks' and Holmes' questions can essentially be applied to many endeavours, including history and art.[9] I take the view that perception is relative and understanding itself is not absolute.

Biography and autobiography can each be both a means of publicising an individual's life story and a window into the past, thus many published titles are often some variation of 'the life and times of'. Caine supports relating 'the individual to the wider world' (2010, p. 117) and Tuchman (1979) uses her biographical subject as a window into some historical subject or period. That perspective posits biography as a means to 'successfully see through the life',

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[7] Definition: 'to be thoroughly familiar with the character or nature of', Macquarie pocket dictionary, 3rd ed. 1998.

[8] Richard Holmes, Prof of Biography at University of East Anglia, 'The Past Has A Great Future', The Seymour Lecture in Biography, University of Technology Sydney, September 12, 2008. Author's notes. See also: Ina Schabert, 'Biography and Fictional Biography', *In Quest of the Other Person*, 1990, pp. 48-65; Victoria Glendinning, 'Lies and Silences', in Eric Homberger & John Charmley (eds), *The Troubled Face of Biography*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1988, pp. 49-62.

[9] For example in history: 'how far can we understand another historical period?' Or, in art: 'is it possible to know with certainty the intentions of the artist?'

revealing connections between tensions in the life and historical process (Kessler-Harris, 2009, p. 630). This combines biographical and historical enquiry, or 'moving between the changing biographical history of the person and the social history of his or her lifespan' (Plummer, 2001, p. 39). However, I demonstrate in this thesis that 'the biographical history' alone is insufficient unless culture is also considered. Further, if individuals 'influence historical development' (Banner, 2009, p. 582) – which I accept, then a close study of their lives might indicate how or to what extent such influence is effected, which in turn requires the biographer to present particular examples as illustrations of general propositions. In this thesis Namarari's life story is framed by historical and cultural influences, so Kessler-Harris' 'seeing through the life' approach is adopted in the search for answers concerning the subject's behaviour and circumstances. The generation of 'the kind of understanding that consists in seeing connections' (Monk, 2007a, p. 527) requires the researcher to effectively link 'the individual story to larger themes and questions' (Shopes, 2011, p. 3).

A distinction needs to be recognised between the self and the life story, as 'the narrative of the life is not the life' (Plummer, 2001, p186). The life story is a literary construction produced through authorship. The self is a conceptualisation of something real and invisible, the life force within a human being. Unsurprisingly therefore biography is linked to philosophy as well as history and culture. Lee suggests that 'questions that occupy some philosophers [...] about the reality of the self and how we can make sense of ourselves, are questions with which biography is also concerned' (Lee, 2009, p. 103). I am endeavouring in this project to 'make sense' of Namarari's life story and circumstances while being less sure about comprehending 'the reality of his self'.

Linking biography to Indigenous life stories

Biography and autobiography each engage in the formulation and dissemination of life stories. At their cores is the question: why do people tell stories of their lives? (Plummer, 2001, p. 41). For the Indigenous people of Australia the reasons include to speak for themselves, to make themselves and their culture visible and understood, and to speak against injustice and dispossession. The voice of self-representation in Indigenous life stories (for example, Barker & Matthews 1972, Kennedy 1990, Lester 1993 and McIvor 2010) illustrates in part the movement of Aborigines and Aboriginality 'to the centre stage of historical enquiry since the 1970s' (Attwood, 2005, pp. 42-44), also brought insistently to the public's attention by the writings of historians such as Henry Reynolds (McKenna,

2009). The coloniser's control over the telling of history loosened as the near-mute objects of official white history themselves became narrators in a contested correcting of Australian historiography through story and art, drama and poetry, film and documentary, sport and music as well as street marches, activism and public enquiries. Indigenous life stories are aimed at 'both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal listeners and readers' (Brewster, 2000) as part of the discourse concerning the presentation of history and its role, raising questions 'about the nature of democracy in the nation state of Australia' (Attwood, 2005, pp. 58-9). Democracy depends on an enlightened citizenry and the sharing of life stories is an awareness-raising enterprise.

One dialogue in a democracy is between the voices from the margin and those in the mainstream. A marginalised individual's biography or autobiography may therefore be a contribution to a discourse about national identity. Of issue for Australians is the capacity to make ourselves known to each other, which depends upon the willingness and opportunity to speak, and the willingness to hear. I aim to show that Namarari endeavoured to make himself known, though for him it seemed to involve ambivalence on the matter of personal visibility. Thompson invests oral evidence with the power to transform 'the objects of study into subjects' and to make history which is 'richer, more vivid and heart-rending' and *'truer'* (Thompson, 1998, p. 117, original emphasis). I do not seek to establish Namarari's version of history as 'truer' than others, rather that his testimony is held up for consideration with other sources. The point is to listen first to what he has to say, for he is talking about himself and for himself, not only talking about the past.

The field of Indigenous artist's biography in Australia is small and that of autobiography even smaller, and the dearth of critical literature confirms that the field has received scant scholarly attention. I concur with Tim Rowse's claim that 'Australian scholarship on Indigenous autobiography is in its infancy' (Rowse, 2004) and believe the same to be true for Indigenous biography. However, applicable issues can be drawn from broader studies (see Donaldson et al 1992 and Read et al 2008). Haag's study of Australian Indigenous autobiography led him to perceive a 'creative period of change' from the late 1960s, notably around the time of Australia's bicentennial of white settlement (1988) when 'Indigenous Australians became increasingly visible' (Haag, 2008, p. 9). The subject's visibility is a concern in this project as I endeavour to perceive and understand Namarari in his journey from my perspective, and then reflect upon my perspective of his self-projection as a storyteller and an artist.

I found no formal analyses of published Indigenous artist's biographies, and therefore made a study of a number of them.[10] These were authorised publications, typically resulting from the subject or family members requesting that 'their story be told'. The publications were invariably collaborative endeavours and not surprisingly, highly dependent on oral history practice. My study revealed key issues for biographical researchers, authors and editors, and therefore influenced the design and execution of this project. Particular criteria were identified to assess the publications (see App. 1a). The publications examined typically involved a non-Indigenous author writing an account of an Indigenous artist's life and art, incorporating first and third person perspectives. A range of factors influenced the production of those publications: the author's relationship to the subject; the building of trust between participants in the process; project authorisation and access to informants and archives; the gathering and use of evidence, particularly when involving interviews and translation (from Aboriginal languages into English); the treatment of a range of art-related topics; and other influences in the process (see App. 1b). My additional interviews with an Aboriginal biographical subject[11], an author of an Aboriginal artist's biography[12] and an editor of an Aboriginal artist's biography[13] elicited numerous insights into the process of bringing oral history interviews and other sources together into a publication.

Perhaps the most widespread method of eliciting Indigenous life stories for publication is the oral interview. Oral history work is used to elicit and present individual life stories and to analyse events or address current perspectives and claims, which may have unexpected repercussions (see Everett 2008 for a problematic biographical project in which she became entangled in a complex issue). Oral history[14], like biography itself, attracts a mix of enthusiasts and critics. Donald Ritchie recognises its value in providing evidence that can enliven historical narratives whilst urging that 'oral history should not stand alone as a single source' (Ritchie, 1995, p. 93). I accept that 'what matters to people keeps getting told in their stories of their life' (Plummer, 2001, p. 242) and acknowledge

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[10] Including Batty 1963, Holmes 1992, Johnson 1997 & 2003, Rubuntja & Green 2002, Campbell 2006, Field 2008. Reported in O'Halloran, A 2009, *How may an Indigenous artist's biography be written for a contemporary Australia*? In S Campbell (ed.) The Cairns Indigenous Art Fair conversations, insights and anecdotes, Arts Queensland, Brisbane; and, *An evolving partnership? Life and art historians in the making of an Indigenous artist's biography.* The Australian Historical Association Conference, Perth, July 2010 (unpubl.).

[11] My appreciation of Yami Lester's autobiography and his role in its formulation was enriched when I interviewed him on June 17, 2009, Alice Springs.

[12] Jennifer Joi Field, author of 'The life of Queenie Mackenzie', March 25, 2010, Melbourne.

[13] The value of conducting interviews with Wenten Rubuntja in his 'mother tongue' of Arrernte plus Aboriginal English was emphasised by Marg Bowman, interview with the author, June 17, 2009, Alice Springs.

[14] 'Oral history collects spoken memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews' (Ritchie, 1995, p. 1). 'Oral history is a window into conversations', Richard Candida-Smith 'Narrative Strategies and Oral History', Oral History Summer Institute, University of California Berkeley, August 16-20, 2010, notes by author.

his related concern that 'memories may impose a unity on certain communities, essentializing the past and the life, making it critically harder to see what was really going on' (Plummer, 2001, p. 237). The problematic nature of dealing with memory's filtered view is a reason to tread carefully. This is an issue here because Namarari's oral testimony is relied upon to explore 'what was going on'. None of the informants for my research indicated that I should treat Namarari's testimony with suspicion.

Namarari's recorded interviews are pivotal and feature throughout this thesis, particularly in the early chapters. Namarari's interviews with John Kean (1989) and Philip Batty (1992) are treated as 'a source for understanding the workings of [his] life and the culture of which it is a part' (Plummer, 2001, p. 39) and also as 'a revelation of [Namarari's] life and self at the time of writing[15]' (Eakin, 1992, p. 201). Namarari's testimony is mostly descriptive, replete with anecdotes, 'reminiscences with historical evidentiary value' rather than a 'revealing intimate self-examination' (Hamilton 2008, pp. 280-1). His oral history account connects to his culture and cultural practices, his family life and relatives, his work and his art, the cross-cultural environment and a variety of actors (for example, the church mission, cattle station bosses, the government and its local agents), and his association with his fellow artists. I am motivated here by Plummer's question: 'what makes [people] tell their stories in particular kinds of ways?' (2001, p. 41) and surmise that Namarari told his stories and recounted his past in a way similar to that of other Pintupi men of his generation whose contact with white people commenced in their childhood.[16] Their stories, translated in the first instance, cannot be understood in isolation; rather they rely firstly upon the skills of the translator and then benefit from a dialogue with anthropology, oral history, regional geography and art history.

If not for systematic oral history work the Indigenous perspectives on some events would be entirely absent, with the Indigenous experience of colonisation itself near the top of the list.[17] One theme relevant here concerns the 'coming in' narrative. Baker (1996, p. 126) uses the term to describe Aboriginal people's movement from 'bush to town' and asserts that a 'fundamental issue in contact history is to what degree contact was the result of Aboriginal people coming in and how much resulted from Europeans going out into Aboriginal country' (Baker, 1996, p. 127). He set out to show (in the case of the Yanyuwa people at Borroloola in the Northern Territory) that the coming in process is complex (1996, p. 164) and

[15] Or in Namarari's case, speaking.
[16] Based on my conversations with Kean, Kimber, Hansen and my reading of Myers.
[17] This was perhaps the single most important lesson for me in reading Indigenous biographies and autobiographies.

claims it is 'important to go beyond *why* people came in and examine *how* people came in' (Baker, 1996, p. 128, original emphasis). He identified seven categories to explain 'why people came in' at Borroloola: 'longing for stimulants, for example, tea, sugar and tobacco; desire for staple foods; economic necessity, due to environmental damage; curiosity about Europeans, their lifestyle and material goods; the fact that surrounding groups had already come in [includes relations/ceremonies]; disease; and security, providing protection from Europeans and other Aboriginal people' (Baker, 1996, pp. 128-9). At Jigalong, on the western side of the Western Desert, Tonkinson studied the Martu people's contact experience and summarised the 'phases of transformation' as: migration and the end of nomadism, the pastoral frontier, the mission era, community incorporation and (ultimately) self-management, the mining challenge and outstations (Tonkinson, 2002, p. 160).

In this thesis some of the 'why and how' of the coming in narrative is considered for Namarari, informed by Baker's and Tonkinson's perspective and grounded in Namarari's oral testimony. Isolated contact incidents in the frontier zone in the early 1930s were followed by continuing involvement after the mid 1930s, resulting in personal and cultural adjustments by individuals such as Namarari. In addition to the categories listed by Baker and Tonkinson another topic is added: the impact of contact over time on Namarari's personal and cultural identity. The perspective I take is that the contact narrative did not 'finish' as though contact itself was somehow a complete process within the early days of cross-cultural interaction. This is one of the more difficult research objectives to attend to because Namarari said little about it directly; it is therefore mostly considered through inference and interpretation. The 'early days' is the period following contact between whites and Aborigines, as distinct from 'olden times', which refers to traditional life before contact.[18] The early days is remembered as a period of transition following the olden times. The period following the early days is, broadly, persistent settlement,[19] though I also heard it referred to as 'welfare time'.[20] I argue that the process of contact for Namarari began in the 1930s and continued into the 1970s, and aspects of it were repetitive rather than linear. The frontier experience began as physical engagement and continued at intellectual and social levels within the settlements, that is, they became sites of intense cross-cultural interaction. Namarari was obliged to respond to a great variety of

[18] Terms used by Namarari. He also used the term 'before trouser time' in conversations with Charlie McMahon, Papunya's Outstations Coordinator in the late 1970s. (Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 8 2012, Sydney.)
[19] Namarari did not use the term settlement. It remains a colonial term affixed to the process that desert Aborigines would presumably pass through on their pathway to assimilation.
[20] Referring back to Papunya in the 1960s Marlene Nampitjinpa, pers comm., June 2013, Kintore.

influences as the Hermannsburg mission's personnel gave way to government instrumentalities and the art market over a forty-year period.

There is an undercurrent in this thesis that links my perceptions of Namarari's survival and his search for understanding in the dynamic milieu I have just introduced. Caine's discussion of biography and history includes her positioning of 'the importance of the wider world' when considering how an individual may have developed 'a set of ideas' (Caine, 2010, p. 117). It is reasonable to assume that Namarari expected to (and did) develop a set of ideas about *being* a Pintupi man. However, he additionally needed to develop ideas as a consequence of colonisation: ideas about the coloniser and (later) ideas about being an artist. I give increasing weight to the proposition that Namarari was preoccupied in the early and middle stages of his life with a set of ideas concerning *trying to understand* and in the latter stages of his life with another related set for *trying to be understood.* The formulation of novel ideas by Namarari was necessitated by the coloniser's permanence, and the object of each set of ideas was the same entity: *whitefellas.* Namarari frequently used the term whitefellas[21] to identify the newcomers he encountered and I have adopted it where appropriate in favour of switching between various terms in the literature such as European, British, Australian, white Australian, non-Indigenous and non-Aboriginal.[22]

Cultural considerations: introducing the Pintupi

Namarari identified himself as a Pintupi person,[23] which raises the question, what is 'Pintupi' and what does it mean regarding Namarari as the subject of a cross-cultural study? The Pintupi people and their Aboriginal neighbours are commonly referred to as Western Desert peoples, occupying a vast territory in central/western Australia. It is beyond the scope of this biography to explicate Pintupi culture.[24] The Pintupi people use the term *murrani*, 'customarily, the way we do things',[25] to compare aspects of their culture to European/Australian culture. Just as the missionaries, pastoralists and anthropologists in Central Australia noticed and, indeed emphasised, that the Pintupi were different, so too did Namarari notice that 'the whitefella way of doing things' was different to his *murrani.* Namarari's interaction with and observations of whitefellas moved beyond incidents of sporadic contact into processes of persistent engagement,

[21] In his two recorded interviews with Kean and Batty.
[22] The term European was still being used in official reports in the 1970s (Davis et al, 1977) to describe the people Namarari knew as whitefellas.
[23] In his interview with Kean (1989).
[24] I provide a summary of pertinent cultural factors in Apps. 3&7.
[25] Ken Hansen, corres. with author, April 14, 2009 (see Pintupi terminology, App. 3b).

which in turn impacted on his self-expression. Mary Edmunds noted in her study of Aboriginal people of the Pilbara region (in Western Australia) that 'a living culture does not exist outside the people who practise it' and for the local people it was 'embodied in concrete domains, such as country, and expressed and reproduced in social and ritual practices' (Edmunds, 2013, p. 192). This intermingling of biography and history focuses on one person's life story in an otherwise generalised account of change over time and presents Namarari as one who continued to practise his culture and interact in a cross-cultural context.

Fred Myers' anthropological study of Pintupi society offers non-Aboriginal people an extensive explication of the Pintupi world.[26] Three Pintupi concepts that Myers (1991) identified underpin my interpretation of Namarari's life story: *walytja, ngurra* and *tjukurrpa* (see App. 3). They refer to in a simplified interpretation using English terms: family and kin, home-place and country, and Dreamtime story and customary Law, respectively. They are of supreme significance as a 'set of ideas' because they collectively frame a Pintupi way of life and impart – from birth until death – direction and meaning at intellectual, emotional, behavioural and spiritual levels. Building on that foundation Myers asserts that a critical aspect of Pintupi society is that 'the cultural formulation maintains that one becomes complete and autonomous only through sustaining relations with others' (1991, p. 110). It seems that colonisation interrupted Namarari's anticipated pathway to 'completion and autonomy' but did not curtail it. If one were to contemplate a society in opposition to the Pintupi world of *walytja, ngurra* and *tjukurrpa,* it might be one based on democracy, capitalism and Christianity, that is, Australia in the first half of the 20th century.

Namarari's language was Pintupi.[27] Ken Hansen's understanding of Western Desert languages provides insight into the process of language acquisition by Namarari, from the time of first contact in the early 1930s to settlement life at Haasts Bluff in the 1950s.[28] Namarari did not comment on his language acquisition in his interviews with Kean and Batty. Hansen did confirm that Namarari spoke an older form of the Pintupi language, typical of men of his generation whose earlier years occurred 'in the bush' before extensive contact with speakers of other Aboriginal languages. Hansen believes the complexity of the Pintupi language is 'in specialised vocabulary, in concepts that are very different to European

[26] Myers' conducted his study of the Pintupi in the mid 1970s at their community at Yayayi, west of Papunya.
[27] Or Pintupi Luritja: see Heffernan 2000, pp. 3-6 and Hansen 2011, p. vii.
[28] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.

concepts'.[29] He perceives Aboriginal languages as having 'a different world view' that was 'a world apart from European thinking'.[30] It was therefore unsurprising for Hansen to encounter some minor difficulties in translating Namarari's interviews into English.[31] Sarah Holcombe (2004) refers to the 'historical complexity' of the Pintupi language and notes it was made up of local variations for differing groups across the Gibson and Great Sandy Deserts. She claims the label 'Pintupi' was not used as a regional language name prior to settlement and many Pintupi people only learned of it after meeting people from Papunya and other settlements for the first time (Holcombe, 2004, p. 6). The application of the label Pintupi to both a language and broadly a group of people in and from the Western Desert may be another consequence of colonisation. The desert environment and its exceptionally low population density are described by Long under the heading 'Arid Region Aborigines: The Pintubi' (Long, 1971). I surmise that Namarari was accustomed to open spaces and their quietness as a child, and he may have yearned for them in the cramped confines of noisy settlements as an older adult.

Selecting a subject: the case for Namarari

The question of 'who's story to tell?' for autobiographers is straightforward, whereas biographers have options. Plummer (2001, p. 133) suggests there are two ways to select a subject, the first having to do with 'luck, chance, or being pragmatic… serendipity' and the second with 'selective sampling based on criteria'. In this thesis the first method holds, a consequence of my general interest in Aboriginal art, which led to a focus on Papunya Tula art and resulted in a particular interest in the founding group of male painters at Papunya. That said, Namarari is not portrayed as a representative of the whole group, as the thesis resists 'pushing speculation too wide from the particular case' (Plummer, 2001, p. 154). A prosopography centred on that group of men would indeed be another valuable way to investigate contact history and the development of Papunya Tula art. To some extent this biography can serve as a springboard for such a project.

A number of factors made Namarari a compelling and appropriate choice given the research focus. Namarari was among the first to leave his country in the early 1930s and one of the last to go back in the early 1980s, making his journey an example through which to consider the Pintupi exodus and return. He was among

[29] Hansen took 'roughly five years to learn to speak Pintupi competently', even though 'there would always be areas of specialised terminology, such as ceremonial', where 'there is always something to learn'. Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[30] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[31] I engaged Ken Hansen to undertake all the translation work required for my research.

the first Pintupi people to make contact with the new white people who appeared from the east (relative to his traditional country). Namarari lived at several settlements in the Haasts Bluff and Papunya regions, making him an actor and a witness in the region's cross-cultural milieu and his testimony informs the broader narrative of contact history. Whilst the Pintupi people's journey and the engagement of some of them with painting have been reported, the story has not been told by tracing an individual's journey. Namarari's art career spanned 1971-1998. Through the increasing popularity of Australian Aboriginal art nationally and internationally and the recognition of the importance of Papunya Tula art specifically, Namarari's art is held in numerous important collections (see App. 11a) and has featured in numerous exhibitions (see App. 11b). Yet there has been no systematic analysis of any series of Namarari's paintings and few published analyses of individual works.[32] None of the three significant group exhibitions prominently featuring Namarari's art included a formal critique of his art or career.[33] The small (and only) survey of his work, mounted by Utopia Art Sydney in 1999, was not accompanied by a critique of his art or career.[34] By focusing on one artist and his relationship with PTA this thesis informs the history of PTA from a different perspective, although PTA's history has otherwise been written about extensively (see Mellor & Megaw, 1999; Perkins & Fink, 2000; Johnson, 2008; Ryan & Batty, 2011). However, probing questions were rarely directed to PTA artists about their experiences and practices *in their own language* and recorded,[35] which is an enduring impediment to a rounded history of PTA, thus the absence of the artist's voice.

Vivien Johnson's studies of the art of Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri, an Anmatyerre man (Johnson, 2004) and Michael Jagamara Nelson, a Warlpiri man (Johnson, 1997), are among her considerable contributions to our understanding of Western Desert art, and this biography of Namarari (a Pintupi man) aims to extend that understanding. Johnson knew each of her subjects and worked collaboratively over time to write her accounts, a method that could not be replicated here. My research took a different path in that Namarari passed away in 1998, well before the commencement by any individual of a formal study of his life or art. However, Johnson's structuring of her narratives and the numerous topics she attended to

[32] See Kean, 2006 for a notable and informative exception.
[33] Tjukurrtjanu, from the Dreaming, Melbourne and Paris, 2011-13; Papunya Tula Genesis & Genius, AGNSW, 2000; Sydney Biennale, Museum of Contemporary Art, 2000. At the Melbourne exhibition one room was dedicated to Namarari's thirteen paintings, one painting was in the restricted access room and a painted coolamon was among the wooden artefacts. At the AGNSW's exhibition there were more paintings by Namarari than any other single artist.
[34] I visited this exhibition and discussed the art with the gallery's director, Christopher Hodges.
[35] Myers' work at Yayayi in the 1970s is a notable exception.

were inputs to my research (see App. 1c for a listing of research topics I drew from her two publications just cited).

The author of a biography can respond to particular issues, challenges or questions within the scope of their project. Some that I divined originate with Myers, Kean, Marshall Stoneking, and Carty and concern the biographer's status as an outsider to the subject's culture, the subject's visibility as an individual, and the analysis of art. Each of the selected challenges raised a question for my research to address in relation to Namarari as a biographical subject. I will now outline those challenges and questions now.

The first challenge concerns my outsider status as an author and its impact on the aim of understanding the subject. Myers stated (vis-a-vis the Pintupi) that 'Only thorough knowledge of an individual's history and her or his disposition or personality would enable outsiders to interpret the motivational basis for her or his acts (Myers, 1991, pp. 116-7). This biography aspires to, but does not claim, a 'thorough knowledge' of Namarari's history, disposition and personality; therefore caution is taken when discussing his 'motivational basis' at any time. However, to avoid altogether questions of personal motivation would be to miss a core task of the biographer: why did the subject act as they did? The resultant question is: how might I interpret Namarari's motivations for action and how do these link to his culture's dictates and to cross-cultural circumstances?

A second challenge is taken from John Kean, a Papunya Tula advisor who spent considerable time with Namarari (beginning in the late 1970s and probably more than any other individual PTA employee), yet wrote as recently as 2011 that 'the man remains an enigma' (Kean, in Ryan & Batty, 2011, p. 162). Paul Walsh, another PTA employee, made a related observation that 'Old men like Namarari were enigmatic' and 'they didn't trust white people'.[36] The issue concerns the distance between the biographer and the subject. The resultant question is: how might Namarari's perceived enigmatic status relate to his engagement with, and perception by, white people?

Billy Marshall Stoneking also knew Namarari at Papunya in the late 1970s. When comparing Namarari with others of his generation, Marshall Stoneking reflected, 'You might be in a room with a few people, and after they're gone you think, 'was Namarari here?' He's hardly noticed, he stayed in the background.'[37] Marshall Stoneking's rhetorical question 'was Namarari here?' has an air of mystery. It raises the issue of Namarari's visibility, not simply physically but more so as a consequence of his personality – perhaps he was just shy. The resultant

[36] Paul Walsh, interview with author, Melbourne, May 12, 2012.
[37] Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.

question is: did Namarari prefer the background, or did he prefer to only be noticed and noticeable in particular ways?

The final challenge emerges from John Carty's analysis of Balgo art.[38] He concluded recently that the art discourse has been experiencing a drought:

> Whilst desert artists continue to produce paintings of beguiling power and challenging perspectives, the critical narrative around those works of art has run conspicuously dry. For anthropologists, curators, and collectors alike, the agility of our appreciation has not kept pace with the artistry of the desert mob (Carty, 2012, p. 105).

Namarari was a member of the desert mob (viz. Aboriginal artists) referred to by Carty. I maintain that within the extant literature a critical narrative is missing not only for Namarari's art but also his life story and character. Carty is referring to the lack of appreciation by a variety of non-Indigenous commentators. The question that arises (incorporating Carty's terms) is: how might a reinvigorated agility of appreciation be applied to Namarari's artistry?

Comprehending Namarari: a multidisciplinary approach

In order for a biography of Namarari to attend to the issues and questions I have nominated, some interpretation is required about how he became visible and known, and how he presented himself and engaged with or was promoted to the public beyond his immediate environment. This necessitates unpacking various kinds of documents (interviews, films, paintings and art records for example) and evaluating how his interlocutors came to perceive Namarari. In contrast to the numerous collaborative 'as-told-to' biographies of Indigenous individuals, this project does not have the benefit of a dialogue over time with Namarari on how he was perceived or what he thought about his portrayal by others. I agree with Tridgell's assertion that 'biography by its nature is provisional' and expect my portrayal will be 'open to revision and criticism, to the story being told differently' (Tridgell, 2002, p. 118). I regard a biography as more of an episode than an endpoint in the process understanding 'the life and times' of an individual.

The value of a multidisciplinary approach for this biography is underscored here through three documented examples concerning perceptions of Namarari. These are: Bardon's film about Namarari from the late 1970s, Namarari's interview with Batty from the early 1990s, and an interaction between Namarari and a PTA employee, also from the early 1990s. I will consider each of these in turn.

[38] Balgo in northern WA has been another site of Western Desert art production since the mid 1980s.

The first example concerning perceptions of Namarari is Bardon's film *Mick and the Moon*,[39] which is exceptional as the only documentary film devoted to an individual PTA artist. Geoffrey Bardon met Namarari at Papunya in 1971 and brought him to Sydney early in 1978 to perform in his film (see Ch. 8 for a more extensive discussion). In the film Namarari does not speak to camera, and the source(s) of information about Namarari and his life and art are not stated; I assume therefore it is Bardon. Namarari is shown singing in Pintupi though no translation or sub-titles are provided.[40] In one sense he is a silent actor as the narrator speaks in his stead. The film presents Namarari's paintings[41] and songs to the audience in a series of stage-managed scenes. In referring to Namarari the narrator states *inter alia* that, 'His history is fixed and all his rituals are to re-live the past'. In relation to Namarari's culture the narrator adds, 'It is a man's duty to paint his Dreaming stories, stories of his origin and heritage, but not until he reaches the age of forty' and goes on to describe Namarari as someone who 'will not tell you about himself easily, he is a secret man'.

These are among many assertions and generalisations in the film that do not stand up to scrutiny and prompt numerous questions related to the biographical quest.[42] How did Bardon come to know Namarari and what were his objectives for the documentary about that individual? Why was Namarari chosen as a subject? What was Namarari's role in the film and how was that determined? How was Namarari's history 'fixed'? Is it a man's duty to paint his Dreaming stories and why can a man not paint until he is forty years of age? The kind of life story data that Bardon used to formulate his script and his visual portrayal of Namarari led me to ask: who or what is really the subject of the film?

My study reveals that aspects of the film's script are contestable and some are inaccurate. I contend that the film is more of a revelation of Bardon's beliefs than an informative description of Namarari's culture or character and demonstrates the difficulty of 'getting to know' Namarari for someone who did not speak Pintupi. Idiosyncratic perceptions pepper the film's narration,[43] and its author(s) seems to have eschewed historical and anthropological sources available at that time, including Namarari himself, opting to present opinion as fact. I deduce that the film is largely an unreliable source concerning Namarari's character and

[39] Produced by Geoffrey and James Bardon.
[40] I discussed the film and Namarari's 'singing of songs' briefly with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, who said 'Yeah not me, I don't know what that means, men's way singing you know'. If a contemporary approach were used to treat Namarari's singing in the film, it would not be shown publicly until a translation was completed to ascertain the nature of the songs' contents. It remains unclear as to how the songs were edited. It is most likely that, given Namarari's return to Papunya, he played no part in the editing of singing sequences for inclusion in 'the final cut'.
[41] Namarari painted six paintings for the film. See Bardon, 1991, p. 85.
[42] Such questions cannot be discussed with Geoff Bardon as he has passed away.
[43] The statements in the film are consistent with Bardon's extensive body of writing about Aboriginal people.

culture, a conclusion made possible by the evidence gathered through a multidisciplinary and multi-source approach, including Namarari as an informant (through his recorded interviews).

The second example utilises one of Namarari's recorded interview (Philip Batty 1992). The following single extract serves to illustrate key features of Namarari's interviews with both Batty and Kean: his narrative style, his logic[44], and my presentation in the thesis of the translated transcripts.[45] I will discuss Namarari's style and logic following this extract. The idea of logic relates to Rowse's phrase (for Indigenous autobiography) that 'the telling of the story would conform to the idea about how an Aboriginal man would express himself' (Rowse, 2004, p. 12). This invites a search for meaning within the text and between the lines by posing Eakin's questions: 'what sense of self, what sense of life story, did [Namarari] have?' (Eakin, 1992, p. 195). In this extract Namarari recounts an event to Batty with virtually no interruption from the interviewer.

Extract from Namarari's interview in Pintupi with Batty in 1992:[46]

Namarari

Kungkayunti that way. At Kungkayunti you seen the hill there? We arrived there and he did the praising ceremony.[47] One went on her own in that direction, the other older sister went across there. Then I went along that hill in that direction. On the side of that xxx there was a goanna, it scurried off in that direction. Then I heard one of the others, he had seen the tracks of an emu. That emu track was clearly there. I followed it along the creek. Then I saw it there on the ground one emu egg lying there, there were two. I kept on hanging around that area for a while. Then I was looking over to that area and I saw a young female emu get up from there. I thought, "Maybe it has sat on the eggs." I said to another, "Eh, Let's go in that direction. It has got up xxx and gone off xxx "Hurry follow it and kill it!" I said that so he would go and spear it. It was almost midday and it was moving around eating grubs from the bushes there. I thought, "It is eating now because it is midday, then it will sleep." The wind was blowing from

[44] A concept brought to my attention with vigour by John Carty, pers comm., 2013.
[45] In relation to the text itself, the underlined words were spoken by Namarari in English (otherwise he used Pintupi) and the comments in brackets, such as '(pointing)' were added by this author to indicate Namarari's behaviour in the video recording. The comments in brackets by the translator, such as '(KH: dreaming)' were included in the transcript by Ken Hansen in order to clarify what he understood Namarari to be saying, or by John Kean (JK). If a word or phrase could not be translated it is marked as 'xxx' in the text.
[46] Extract lightly edited, words in English underlined, unclear words marked as xxx) from Namarari's interview with Batty (1992).
[47] Ken Hansen advised that this ritual involves the arrivals at a site 'connecting to the Dreaming' at that place. (Pers. comm., February 18, 2011)

here. I thought, "Oh where is it?" I could not see it. Then I saw it, the feathers on its neck. It was lying there asleep. Well from here I speared it. That emu right through the body/chest area. Well it got up and ran off with the spear in it. I followed it, "Oh jingles where has it gone?" I saw the spear lying there that had come out of it as it went off. I picked it up. It was a clean point, because it had no barb tied to it. I followed on and I could see it had slowed down to walking awkwardly. It is a bad place for the animal when it is speared in the lower body. I went up to it and hit it on the back of the head with a stick. Finished. I took was taking out its guts and the other men were going across in that direction toward the water. This side of Haasts Bluff, to the water hole there. I made a fire. I was saying with the fire, "I have speared that emu." They saw the smoke and said, "Ok, there is fire smoke rising over there. Maybe he has the emu." Too hot. The hot weather was heating me up. I then carried the bundle of guts toward camp. When the women saw me with the guts they were very happy, and they danced around. They were happy about the emu. I said to them, "The eggs and the body of the emu are lying over there in the creek, because the sun heated me too much and I had to leave them there." Following that my cousin and another man went off to it and cooked it there. The people at camp cooked the guts and ate them.

(End of extract)

Namarari eloquently narrates an unfolding incident about hunting an emu. The story centres on an action sequence, and is so orderly that one suspects he has told the story before. He names the place but not the year or his age. The story is embedded in *place* and he constantly refers to local features such as hills, vegetation and creeks, demonstrating that Kungkayunti (south of Mt Liebig) is a familiar locale for Namarari is constantly cognisant of his position. He has a starting point from where he goes out and to which he returns: the camp. His description of the event is matter of fact, and whilst some emotions are expressed here, often there are none. Generally there is a lack of evaluative or interpretative language, rather he tells us, 'these things happened, like this, at that place, involving some people'. Namarari lets slip his compassion for the wounded emu though he hunted virtually all his life.

The hunting anecdote itself is straightforward. As a skilled hunter Namarari looks for footprints and after identifying the animal knows how to pursue it. He shows us that he is a keen observer as he follows tracks on the ground, monitoring the wind and the heat of the sun and the topography. He notes where his fellow hunters are and what they are doing, which can be accomplished (when necessary) by hand signals (without talking). Namarari learned to accomplish some

tasks (such as hunting) through cooperation with others by silently communicating with a complex array of hand signals.[48]

Namarari uses various devices as mnemonic aids. He first was to locate the event at a given place. He then situates himself in the scene and orients himself into the locality precisely in relation to its physical features. When he is pointing as part of storytelling he points according to actual directions, not casually. Another device he uses is to verbalise his inner thoughts and repeat the actual or imagined spoken language of others. He makes statements to explain his thinking and his reasoning. He recreates questions to advance the narrative, such as, 'Oh where has it gone?' Then he answers his own question and moves on. He also verbalises dialogue to present his inferred 'conversation' with the other men via the smoke from his fire as though it were face-to-face. It allows his interlocutor to see into his thinking process and on that occasion he reports that the rising smoke did its job, just as he anticipated.

A group – not any group but Namarari's countrymen, his *walytja* – were gathered at Kungkayunti. The women were waiting at the camp for the hunters' return, hoping for good meat, which Namarari supplied and they celebrated by dancing. This implies that he fulfilled his duty as a provider, and then remained at the camp while other men retrieved the emu because the sun made him too hot to carry the carcass. He could then rest or listen to the women singing and dancing.

In some instances cross-cultural oral history transcripts present additional challenges for interpretation that are not readily apparent in the text to a non-bilingual reader (see Taylor, 1992). In many of Namarari's stories *place* has layered meanings. On this occasion the place is the site Kungkayunti, associated with the *Kungka Kutjarra tjukurrpa* or Two Women Dreaming. It was part of Namarari's mother's Dreaming (see App. 9c), thereby connecting him to that site – note that Namarari said someone conducted the 'praising ceremony' (an appropriate cultural ritual[49]) upon the group's arrival at the site. The Two Women Dreaming links Kungkayunti westwards to related sites[50]: Muruntji, thence Mintjilpirri and Putja and Ngutjul (just east of Kintore). It was at Ngutjul that Namarari (with countrymen Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula and George Maxwell Tjangala) recorded songs associated with the *Kungka Kutjarra* in 1984 for John

[48] 'There was an extensive system of hand signals used, by older people particularly, a more limited number of them are used by the current generation. I saw the men frequently using hand signs in communications in camp. The older women as well used these signs communicating with each other.' (Ken Hansen, corres. to author, April 24, 2013.) See also Hansen's dictionary (1992, pp. 57-58) for Pintupi phrases for: waved the hand, signalled with the hand, to indicate with the hand using hand sign language; quietened with hand signal; questioned by a hand signal; answered by a hand signal, commanded by a hand signal; beckoned, called with the hand; affirmed, indicated yes; gave ungrudgingly.

[49] Ken Hansen, corres. to author, February 2013, cites the ritual as 'walkunu'.

[50] Namarari did paintings associated with all these sites.

Kean.[51] Namarari painted the *Kungka Kutjarra tjukurrpa* and did a small number of paintings at or near Kungkayunti[52] when he resided at Browns Bore (nearby Kungkayunti) with his relatives in the mid 1970s (see Ch. 7). What may be drawn from that array of disparate events? Namarari *wanted* people to know about that place and its importance to him, otherwise he would not have shared the emu story with Batty, or painted the canvases for sale through PTA, or sung the songs into Kean's tape recorder. The event he described at Kungkayunti is a successful emu hunt with relevance beyond food gathering. Linked to that place are his memories of family, his camp, his art making, foot walking and hunting with companions, and a well-being borne of belonging to place. In that story Namarari showed himself to be a competent *wati,* a man fulfilling his responsibilities and living his way with his people. The story is an affirmation of identity, and as it was recorded in 1992, it was also about himself as a younger man, and might be nostalgic for a time that (for him) had passed.

The third example concerning perceptions of Namarari is a short quote from Wayne Eager, an artist who worked as a PTA Field Worker (see Ch. 10). Eager first met Namarari in the early 1990s at Yuendumu (northwest of Alice Springs) when Namarari told him in English, 'I paint real slow, no rush, just slow', and 'big ones, little ones, just slow, everytime'.[53] Eager regularly observed Namarari painting at Kintore in the mid 1990s and noticed he could 'move out from a point on the canvas, completing the work as he went, rather than drawing it out then filling in the gaps or background'.[54] Eager found his method intriguing, as all the other artists drew (painted) outlines to set a design first for each painting.[55]

The statement that Eager attributed to Namarari and his subsequent deduction borne of watching Namarari painting is fascinating. It is the only reported statement by Namarari on his art practice as he was not questioned (in a recording) in Pintupi or English about his painting method. Namarari's comment raises two related questions: if he consistently painted slowly, how might that figure in deciphering his art, and secondly, what inference can be taken from his habit of starting a painting at a point and moving out? Is that notion of starting at a point and moving out in any way analogous to other aspects of Namarari's behaviour? Indeed, might the twin observations of 'painting slowly' and 'moving out from a point' suggest a metaphor for aspects of Namarari's *modus operandi*?

Two important outcomes emerged from my review of extant glimpses of Namarari, including the three foregoing examples. The first realisation was that the

[51] Archived in the South Australian Museum, item SAMA 926/1.
[52] Based on the catalogue raisonne research conducted for this project.
[53] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.
[54] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.
[55] The only exception being Makinti Napanangka, as observed by Eager.

foundation for the biography should be Namarari's interviews recorded in Pintupi (see below). The second was the requirement to seek out additional numerous sources. I found there was no model of best practice research for the writing of an Indigenous artist's biography in Australia, thus my methodology could not copy an exemplar.[56] Nor was the process akin to sculpture, where the removal of extraneous material reveals the 'hidden' figure. Nor was this a jigsaw puzzle, for there was neither a ready collection of pieces to be assembled nor a finished picture for a writer to guide their assembly. However, I did often find myself asking the question – how this piece of information or evidence fit or conflict with what I already know, or suspect, about Namarari?

The research approach: framing the life story

The assembly and interpretation of Namarari's life story and circumstances revealed significant interrelated themes. His family (*walytja*) was a primary enduring concern and a significant source of both pleasure and, in later life, stress. The departure from his traditional domain (*ngurra*) amounted to separation not abandonment. His transition to manhood and his ongoing cultural education coincided with engagement in a new cross-cultural environment with people of alien beliefs and practices. He made adjustments to his lifestyle and self-concept due to colonisation, whilst maintaining his cultural practices and status. The cultural knowledge (*tjukurrpa*) underpinning his outlook also underpinned his art career, and in cooperation with the PTA and certain individuals, he established and enabled an art practice. That practice was influenced by his cultural education, personal idiosyncrasies, learned techniques and market responses. Namarari had the capacity to endear himself to others and his oft-perceived quiet or passive demeanour belied his proactivity, for he played a cross-cultural educative role with non-Aboriginal people and often acted to promote mutual understanding in the manner of an informal ambassador.

I have established that the existing literature does not include a substantial biographical account of Namarari. To pursue my objective I assembled six sets of data as new or refined compilations, having secured project authorisation.[57] The compilations comprised 'facts' and 'systematic compilations of facts' (Morphy, 2006, pp. 146-7), which needed to be integrated into a biographical narrative, itself an iterative process of 'making sense of'. The six compilations house the essential

[56] I formed this view based on my study of indigenous artist's auto/biographies.
[57] Ethics approval: The Australian National University. In line with university policy a Project Information Sheet was provided to each research participant (approx. 80 persons) cognisant of the AIATSIS guidelines: *Guidelines for Ethical Research in Indigenous Studies*, AIATSIS, Canberra, May 2000.

evidence for this biography: life story; family and kinship; catalogue raisonne; sites, stories and Dreamings; maps, and finally, painting analyses. The method of assembling the compilations and their application or benefit to constructing a biography is outlined below. Firstly, though, there were two ancillary benefits. A number of errors were uncovered in the literature or archives, allowing for refinements in the extant record. Also, the compilations themselves become substantial additions to the Namarari archive as a legacy of this project, providing material for further research within the PTA archive. The pursuit of some research objectives and innumerable questions is (and remains) understandably frustrated by Namarari's absence.[58] Each of the compilations can now be discussed.

The preparation of a chronological outline of Namarari's life story was based primarily upon three interviews conducted in the Pintupi language: Kean and Namarari (audio, 1989), Batty and Namarari (video, 1992), and Hansen and Namarari with Benny Tjapaltjarri.[59] Those interviews are the only recorded oral accounts (there are no written accounts) by Namarari in Pintupi of his life experiences, and each interview was a one-off event. In order to appreciate the interlocutors' intentions and the conduct of the interviews, I interviewed Kean[60], Batty[61] and Hansen[62] in relation to the interviews with Namarari, and more broadly, their relationships with him (see App. 5). Each interviewer was selective in their interests, with a focus on his early years and less attention paid to contemporary circumstances, family life or art career. Due to the somewhat fragmentary nature of Namarari's oral testimony, the shaping of the narrative tends towards the episodic. The incomplete chronological narrative was supplemented with oral history data from Namarari's relatives[63] and various associates[64].

Family members and relatives (of Namarari) were frequently mentioned in interviews with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants. As a means to gauge the extent of Namarari's family a European-style family tree diagram was assembled.[65] It records some of Namarari's relatives across three generations.[66] The diagram was a visual aid within conversations, serving as a prompt to talk

[58] This is yet another pointer toward the desirability of undertaking art historical and biographical research with Aboriginal artists while they are living.
[59] Conducted by Ken Hansen in 1992 and filmed for the documentary 'Benny and the Dreamers'.
[60] John Kean, interview with author, May 25, 2010, Melbourne.
[61] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 24, 2010, Melbourne.
[62] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[63] Namarari's relatives interviewed are listed in Apps. 2a and 2c.
[64] Numerous references concerning Namarari were also drawn from various monographs, exhibition catalogues, articles, films and photographs as well as archival materials including census data, genealogical records and PTA's art documentation.
[65] A family tree diagram was prepared of Martu people 'living in and around the Percival Lakes in 1964' as part of the research for 'Cleared out' (Davenport et al, 2005, p. 13).
[66] Tindale prepared the first known European-style family tree diagram for Namarari's family in 1932 (see Ch. 2) and revisited it in the mid 1950s (see Ch. 5).

about individuals or identify names to fill the gaps.[67] It is important to recognise that the family tree diagram is a different order of information to the Pintupi kinship system based on the eight subsections (see App. 3, p. 325), thus a family tree diagram cannot be conceptually overlaid on a written representation of Aboriginal kinship structure. Nonetheless, it was enlightening to realise that many individuals were related to Namarari and that demands upon him from 'family' could originate from many people across multiple communities.[68] Unsurprisingly, the diagram often could not clarify why Namarari had a relationship to a particular individual, as the relationship may be enacted away from public view, for example: 'the people who went through initiation with him, those who taught him, those he taught himself, and so on' (Myers, 1991, p. 245).

The catalogue raisonne is a new database of Namarari's PTA paintings with a range of details for each work.[69] It includes records of some 600 PTA works by Namarari spanning 1973-1998,[70] with images found for some of the works through a national and international search.[71] The information (to varying degrees of detail and consistency) recorded for his PTA paintings included a simple diagram, the name and location of the site/s and the story/s plus the painting's dimensions and the location where it was made. Information less frequently recorded included the *tjukurrpa* connection/s between sites, the affiliation of certain sites to his mother or father, or the affiliation of sites or stories to kinship subsections. Two supplementary compilations were tabulated for Namarari's paintings of pre-PTA provenance, attributable to the Stuart Art Centre list (1971-72), and the interregnum period (mid-late 1972). Based on the foregoing Namarari's annual output was tabulated (see App. 8). This research project has not attempted to identify or verify paintings that Namarari may have produced for a variety of individuals or private dealers, particularly in the 1990s.[72]

The catalogue raisonne is an essential prerequisite for both art historical and biographical research. It functions as a store of what Namarari said (transcribed by PTA's staff as field notes), together with descriptions of what he

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[67] Individuals interviewed for this project are listed in App. 2a.
[68] Particularly Kintore, Mt Liebig, Papunya and Haasts Bluff.
[69] The database was assembled primarily through PTA's original records, themselves a product of Bardon's and Fannin's initiative in systematising the description of each painting produced from the early 1970s onwards. It is not included in full in this thesis as it is PTA's intellectual property and publication protocols are in discussion.
[70] Care has to be taken with records as other artists subsequently had the same initials, for example Michael Nelson Jagamara and Makinti Napanangka.
[71] Photographs were found for paintings in the PTA archive, mostly from the mid 1990s onwards. Fannin reported that photographs of PTA paintings he took in 1973-1975 have been lost (Collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.) but were located by Dick Kimber in 2012 and viewed by the author in October 2012 in Alice Springs.
[72] A number of PTA staff reported that Namarari did produce paintings for private dealers and the author saw some such paintings in Alice Springs galleries and at art auctions. Perhaps the most well known set of works were those produced for Bardon's film, *Mick and the Moon*.

made (paintings and artefacts). It enables particular data to be drawn out, for example the number of paintings per annum, or paintings for a given subject or tjukurrpa (see Apps. 10b and 10c for examples). It aids in identifying a series of related paintings or selecting individual paintings for formal analysis. From a biographical perspective, the catalogue raisonne is a source of data alongside oral history interviews concerning his life story and career. For example, he produced paintings in many settings and if the location was recorded where the painting was made, that indicated where he was living at the time. The catalogue raisonne also serves as further evidence of Namarari's intent, that he wanted people to appreciate aspects of his art and culture.

Although Namarari painted for PTA throughout his career, no precise lists of his sites or stories were compiled in his lifetime, therefore I assembled preliminary lists for this project. The catalogue raisonne houses the raw material required to identify sites and stories associated with Namarari's life and art, which relate directly to his *tjukurrpa,* or Dreamings.[73] Myers (1991) outlines the numerous ways in which locations can become part of one's country (see App. 3, Landholding). For one important location, Namarari's initiation (see Ch. 3), it seems he did not do paintings for that site or the surrounding area.[74] This may not be surprising, as it is well to the east of traditional Pintupi country, the region that contains many of the sites that Namarari referenced in his paintings. Namarari did not allude (in his recorded interviews or elsewhere) to any particular familiarity with the initiation site other than that it was where the ceremony occurred. Namarari may have done two paintings associated with 'Tempe Downs Station', referred to by Bardon (see paintings 380 & 381, Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 416) but nowhere else.[75] Namarari did not complete any paintings based upon the Tempe Downs region for Papunya Tula, strongly suggesting that it was not his *ngurra,* though he had worked there.

A number of key findings were drawn from the catalogue raisonne research. Namarari produced paintings in every one of the years 1971 to 1998, though the number per annum (see App. 8) varied from six (1975) to seventy-one (1994). His career recognition peaked in the early 1990s, when he received three art awards and held four solo exhibitions. He painted some thirty Dreaming stories (see App. 10a) for numerous sites (see App. 9b). He painted two works regarding

[73] A list of sites (see App. 9a) and a list of stories (see App. 10a) were based on PTA field notes using information supplied by Namarari, and PTA certificates, and supplemented by interviews with Namarari's family members and PTA staff, publications, and Namarari's recorded interviews with Kean, Batty and Hansen.
[74] Based on site names in PTA's records.
[75] I suspect that Bardon's attribution of those works to the Tempe Downs area may be an error.

marriage in mid 1974, around the time I understand he married, with no other paintings with that title.[76]

The preliminary sites list contained approximately 150 place-name spellings.[77] The list was examined to identify different spellings that might be for the same place.[78] PTA field notes also revealed some directional cues, which on occasion were checked against maps or with various informants.[79] The specification of site names and their locations are not fail-safe aspects of PTA's records, and in Bardon's annotated diagrams (see Bardon & Bardon, 2004) the sites for Namarari's paintings were mostly omitted or generalised to the point of irrelevance (for example, 'west of Papunya'). The preliminary list was refined in a bid to confirm site names and locations and to collapse the list by grouping alternate spellings for a given site. Consultations were conducted with Pintupi people or individuals with an expertise in PTA art or a familiarity with Western Desert geography (see App. 9a).[80] The final list contains nearly 80 place-name spellings of what are understood, albeit tentatively, to be different sites, alongside alternate spellings for each site (see App. 9b).

The companion list to sites is the *tjukurrpa* associated with them, simply glossed as 'stories' or 'Dreamings' (see App. 10a).[81] A lack of recorded information from Namarari is an impediment to understanding the stories list, except in a cursory manner. It cannot be taken as a precise compilation of Namarari's *tjukurrpa,* nor can it be assumed that it is exhaustive, as there is no evidence to confirm Namarari painted *all* his *tjukurrpa*. The list indicates that Namarari painted a remarkable variety of subjects alluded to in those story records. There are some sixty-five to seventy 'titles' in the PTA-derived list though it is unlikely that these represent separate Dreamings.[82] A revised list classifies Namarari's PTA repertoire into groupings based on subject matter: men, women, animals, reptiles, birds, foods, natural elements and miscellaneous (see App. 9b). Johnson cites nine Dreamings for Namarari from his 'vast repertoire' and four 'key

[76] One of these was located in The Australian Museum collection, Sydney, in 2012.
[77] I assembled my first sites and stories lists in mid-late 2009 and used it in discussion with various individuals and in crosschecking with various references.
[78] For example, are these the names of eight different sites: Arkutunga, Angkulu, Alkutu, Angunya, Angkuntjinna, Alkuntja, Yankutunya, Yankuntja?
[79] For example, the site Putja was listed both as 'north-west of Kintore' and 'south-east of Kintore': the latter is correct. A site with a similar sounding name, Kutju, is probably northwest of Kintore.
[80] These individuals included Morris Gibson Tjungurrayi, Kenny Lillias Tjampitjinpa, Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, Hilary Tjapaltjarri, Marlene Nampitjinpa, Tommy Conway Tjapangati, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, Ray James Tjangala, Dick Kimber, Fred Myers, Paul Sweeney, Philip Batty and Peter Bartlett. On occasion these consultations were hindered by my own attempts to pronounce place names.
[81] Bardon's titles of many Namarari's non-PTA paintings from the 1970s are provided for comparative purposes.
[82] It is beyond the scope of this project to authoritatively delineate distinct Pintupi *tjukurrpa*.

sites', including 'Tjangimanta, northeast of Kintore' (Johnson, 2008, p. 42), which was not located in any PTA field note for Namarari's paintings.

Maps serve two main purposes here. The first is to aid an understanding of language or 'tribal' areas as this relates to Namarari's cultural identity. Tindale's map[83] shows the tribes 'Pintupi, Jumu and Kukatja' in the region that is sometimes referred to as the eastern reaches of present-day Pintupi country. The AIATSIS map of Aboriginal Australia shows the Pintupi and Luritja sharing that same region.[84] Strehlow's map of 'Aboriginal Central Australia' shows the Pintubi to the west of Putati, neighbours to the Kukatja who occupy the Mt Liebig region, not Tindale's Jumu,[85] who Holcombe refers to as Yumu and may have more accurately been the Mayutjarra (Holcombe, 2004, p. 11). Myers (1976, p. 247) reports from his interviews with Pintupi men that the people around the Ilpilli area were known as the Mayutjarra. As if to underline the fluidity of languages and fuzzy boundaries, there is no definitive map of precise language groups[86] occupying a given territory.

A second application of mapping relates to Namarari's travelling stories and his paintings. In the Kean and Batty interviews Namarari mentioned numerous places, some of which were located on existing maps.[87] The process of mapping in combination with my site visits on field trips undertaken with Namarari's relatives provided a basic appreciation of Western Desert geography, enabling a sharper (but not complete) view of Namarari's travelling stories and site references concerning his paintings. Map One (p. ix) shows the location of many cities that Namarari visited as an adult, and the region in Central Australia for the detail of Map Two (p. x). Map Two shows the expanse bounded by Alice Springs in the east and Kintore to the west. Many of the places where Namarari visited, worked or resided are shown in Map Two, though some of the sites he refers to in the Kean and Batty interviews could not be located. Locations of settlements and sites in Map Two are approximate, given its scale here. Geoffrey Bardon's description of his method to produce maps and the difficulty he faced in identifying sites for paintings (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 54) partly explains the limitations of his published maps in

[83] AA338-17-12, SA Museum.
[84] AIATSIS, edition 2, 1999, Canberra.
[85] Aboriginal Central Australia, nd, prepared for TGH Strehlow's Songs of Central Australia, Angus and Robertson Ltd, Sydney. (Map based on Strehlow's field notes of 1932-1969.)
[86] Language group is commonly used as a descriptive term in favour of tribe.
[87] Strehlow's map and Bowman & Scherer's 1948 ('Sketch map of the James Ranges Central Australia', Bryan Bowman & P. A. Scherer, July 1948, 1st. Ed.) were very useful in identifying areas that Namarari walked as a child or travelled as a young man. (Viewed Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, November 23, 2007.)

relation to Namarari and their consequent unreliability.[88] Other recent publications also contain errors of site location.[89]

Field trips (see list in App. 4) were conducted to Central Australia and the Western Desert to see the places where Namarari lived or where some events occurred.[90] Namarari's relatives gave approval to or acted as guides for visits to particular sites and outstations. They were vital participants in this cross-cultural study, not only as informants but as teachers/colleagues: providing information about Namarari, enabling me to develop a preliminary sensibility towards Pintupi 'ways of doing and seeing', and, providing support and guidance.

The research approach: framing the art

The final compilation of evidence concerns art. Namarari began painting regularly in 1971. I aim to contribute to Australian art history by focusing on one Indigenous artist, recognising that, 'For indigenous art to be seen on equal terms with Western art it requires more than a right to an isolated space. The viewer must also have some access to its history and significance' (Morphy, 2008, p. 185). A comprehensive retrospective of Namarari's art is yet to be mounted,[91] though his art is held in numerous major institutions (see App. 11a), and his exhibition history is impressive (see App. 11b). A modest Namarari survey was held in Sydney[92], his art was later included in the Biennale of Sydney[93] and the landmark Papunya Tula Genesis & Genius exhibition[94], and a number of early works (pre-PTA) were recently included in the *Tjukurrtjanu* exhibition in Melbourne and Paris.[95] Surprisingly, a comprehensive critique of his oeuvre is yet to be written.

I am interested in the microhistory of Namarari's career as 'a means of representing particularity and difference rather than universality' (Phillips, 1994, p. 41). My focus is on what Namarari painted, how he produced his paintings, why he painted, and the relationships that linked to his work as an artist. This approach responds to Myers' exhortation to find value by exploring a series of works, to

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[88] Bardon's 'map of 'Namarari's country' (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 62) has errors and is unreliable; the problem is compounded by the (mis)representation of Namarari's 'tribal area' (p. 57) for which no evidence has been found.
[89] The map in Genesis & Genius's catalogue (2000, pp. 274-275) misplaces Nyunman and Marnpi. Tjukurrtjanu's catalogue (2011, p. xiv) also misplaces Marnpi. Nyunmanu and Marnpi are highly significant sites for Namarari.
[90] Approval for research access to Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory was provided as required by the Central Land Council (Alice Springs).
[91] There is curatorial interest in mounting such a retrospective but no institutional backing, based on my conversations with Judith Ryan (NGV), Hetti Perkins (ex-AGNSW) and Christopher Hodges (UAS).
[92] Utopia Art Sydney, 1999.
[93] Museum of Contemporary Art, 2000.
[94] Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 2000.
[95] National Gallery of Victoria, 2011 and Musee du quai Branly, 2012.

'seek our knowledge wherever we can find it, putting together our clues as any detective would' (Myers, 2011, pp. 39-40). He offers a reflection that readily applies to Namarari:

> If the artists could have told us what they were thinking, what they were communicating, directly, perhaps they would have done so. There might not have been anyone there who could understand them, in any case. But if we can understand more of what is in the painting, what its relationship to the artist was, and if we can consider it within a range of their paintings, we surely will understand more completely (Myers, 2011, p. 40).

The art research centres on formal analysis and oral history. My formal analyses of a number of Namarari's paintings (including those listed on p. viii) across his career attended to their content and context.[96] Where possible (an image has been located) and where the image itself is pertinent to my argument, the selected paintings are illustrated (see list on p. vii). Additionally, a group of works was selected for a particular study: the *Tjunginpa Tjukurrpa*, the Small (or Hopping) Mouse Dreaming, associated with a site near Kintore, also called Tjunginpa. As that style of painting has not been the subject of intensive study elsewhere, the opportunity existed for an original contribution. Namarari's paintings were studied with three foci in mind: as a form of evidence of his cultural knowledge and identification, as products of artistic practice and techniques, and as a window to his character.[97] I introduce the transitions in Namarari's oeuvre through the analysis of selected paintings, linked into the biographical narrative under the subtitle, 'painting stories'. There are twenty painting stories (see Chs. 6-10 and the Conclusion). Each is used to highlight selected points from my formal analyses and oral history work, archival research and references, and field trips. Further, the paintings highlighted in this thesis are imagined as a virtual exhibition in support of my proposition that a major retrospective of Namarari's art is the ideal complement to a biography. PTA staff members were surveyed (see App. 6 for the instrument) and interviewed regarding their relationships with Namarari and their insights into his character and art practice.[98] The contributions of PTA staff are weaved into the narrative under the subtitle 'painting relationships' (see Chs. 6-

[96] 'Formal analysis includes those methods and questions that mostly concern the visual and physical aspects of a work of art. In formal analysis, you seek the answers to your questions in the work of art itself, usually without referring extensively to outside sources. You're exploring the visual effect of the work of art, looking at what the artist is trying to accomplish through visual means. In contrast, contextual analysis often requires you to go outside the work of art for your answers. What you're trying to do in contextual analysis is understand how a work of art expresses or shapes the experiences, ideas and values of the individuals and groups that make, use, view or own it.' (D'Alleva, 2006, p. 22)

[97] 'Art historians start from the premise that art isn't just an illustration of the past but a key element in telling human history.' and 'Art criticism is the practice of evaluating art for its aesthetic and cultural worth, rather than using it to tell history' (D'Alleva, 2006, pp. 18-19).

[98] Staff members interviewed are listed in App. 2. Their collective voice warrants a greater presence than existing literature reveals. The main PTA art advisors who worked with Namarari were interviewed to explore their relationships with him, except Crocker who died tragically in Africa in the late 1980s.

10). Their observations are significant, especially as he spoke so little about himself.

When Namarari and the men began producing paintings for sale at Papunya in 1971 they drew upon their knowledge of sites, ceremonies and the *tjukurrpa* (Perkins & Fink 2000, Myers 2002, Johnson 2003, Johnson 2010), some of which was the closely guarded domain of initiated men due to its place in ritual.[99] They believed it should never be exposed to the uninitiated as such knowledge and its associated manifested forms were restricted (sacred and therefore secret) to a culturally defined inner circle (see Kimber 1995 for an insightful chronology of the origins and resolution of the 'secret/sacred' issue during the 1970s, and Johnson 2010 for her analysis of the same issue including some contemporaneous repercussions). Johnson (2010, pp. 251-254) lists the following items as falling into the 'restricted' (should not be publicly displayed) category: ceremonial objects, certain patterns on objects, ceremonial poles, tjurungas, bullroarers, string crosses, and depictions of kangaroos. Hansen further explained that the requirement to exclude images from paintings extended to certain *words* for his Pintupi Luritja dictionary *because* they were explicitly associated with restricted activities.[100]

Namarari's art reveals transitions in content and form. The transitions relate to the formal elements in his paintings, his motivations or intentions, the materials and environment of the art's production, his individual creativity and the market reception of Aboriginal art, particularly Papunya Tula's art (Myers 2002, Johnson 2008, Morphy 2008, Carty 2012). The men's transference of restricted imagery from the ceremonial realm into public view (as paintings) was a transformational act and had no counterpart in prior cross-cultural interaction in the Papunya region. Numerous images (iconography) within the paintings were identifiably representative of sacred objects or activities and caused offence to (some) Aboriginal men. It is also the case that some paintings were not contrary to Aboriginal values and did not need modification on cultural grounds.[101] The intervention by Aboriginal men necessitated the referencing of aspects of the *tjukurrpa* whilst avoiding the display of restricted imagery. This required a degree of creativity by artists: they had to work out how to continue painting preferred subject matter (images with cultural references) without breaking intra-cultural

[99] 'Secret/sacred' is an Aboriginal English term (see Pintupi terminology, App. 3b.). Cultural knowledge and practices is often glossed in English as 'men's business' and 'women's business' or 'the Law'.
[100] See App. 3b concerning Hansen's explanations regarding Pintupi terminology.
[101] Some Namarari's paintings show evidence of restricted designs, for example: Ceremonial Medicine Story, 1971; Big Cave Dreaming with ceremonial object, 1972; #8018, 1971. Some show uncontroversial images, for example 'Sandhills and Clouds 1971'.

rules.[102] Consequently, Namarari and his fellow artists painted images that had limited or indirect references to *tjukurrpa* narratives yet affirmed their primacy. Much of the visual content was non-specific and could not adequately be interpreted without the artist's verbal description.

Large-scale paintings with repetitious roundels and linear, dotted infill or depictions of country or animal forms replaced the earlier intricate boards, exemplifying Carty's analysis of the progression of abstraction in Western Desert art centred on 'concentricity, outlining and dotting' (Carty, 2012). Kean (1990) wrote of such paintings that 'at times [Namarari] will paint pure dotted surfaces with just the vaguest suggestion of an emergent form or trace of an ancestor'.[103] The imagery emphasised the physicality of the natural world. Such paintings depended on the repetition of simple motifs that illustrated topographical features. For example, linear dotting or stripes represented sandhills, random dotting represented spinifex, and an animal's presence could be indicated by dots representing footprints. This painting style became prominent in the late 1980s and blossomed in the 1990s.[104] A particular motif, representing Namarari's birthplace Mampi, is highlighted (see Ch. 9). One of his 1994 paintings (that sold at the time for $4,000) recently fetched $180,000 at auction, a record for the artist, suggesting that the market has developed a strong liking for such imagery by Namarari.[105]

Structuring the narrative: the thesis outline

This telling of Namarari's life story is a chronological account of ten chapters. Chapters One to Four focus on Namarari's childhood and family life in the 1930s, followed by contact with missionary personnel, departure from his traditional country along with other Pintupi people and eventual resettlement with displaced Aborigines at Haasts Bluff in the 1940s. Events include his initiation and early adult years in the Haasts Bluff region, as well as various jobs, notably as a stockman. His personal circumstances were impacted by the government's policies towards Aboriginal people in Central Australia, where notions of protection and segregation gave way to assimilation in the first half of the twentieth century. By the late 1950s Namarari was married. He relocated to Papunya, along with many hundreds of the region's Aboriginal people. McGregor's assessment that Aboriginal people's 'inclusion' into the national community in the middle decades

[102] Examples by Namarari include: 19123A, 1972 and Mingatjarra corroboree, 1973.
[103] Examples by Namarari include: MN74075, MN780126, MN821102 (an example of Kean's 'vaguest suggestion'), MN8605114 (dominated by the snake) and MN891111.
[104] Examples by Namarari include: MN880819, MN940293, MN970853, MN980774.
[105] 'Rain Dreaming at Nyunmanu' (MN940293), lot 101, Bonham's auction, hammer price $180,000, March 24, 2013, Sydney (see Ch. 10.). Acquired by the National Gallery of Australia (pers. comm.. C. Hodges, May 2013).

of the twentieth century 'was always conditional, and the dominant group – settler Australians – set the terms of inclusion' (McGregor, 2011, p. xiii) is instructive, and I endeavour to follow Namarari's journey in relation to the state. Assimilation itself has a complex history, in relation to government policies and programs and its publicly contested meanings.[106]

Chapters Five to Eight focus on Namarari's life through the 1960s and 1970s. He lived for much of the time at Papunya, a government settlement, and on a number of outstations in the region. Government policy swung away from assimilation in favour of self-determination. Namarari participated in the establishment of the PTA company and contributed to the push by the Pintupi people to return to their traditional country. Aspects of Namarari's art and career are discussed with an emphasis on his engagement with PTA's staff. However I eschew the periodisation of Papunya Tula's history based on the employees' duration of employment, characterised as 'Bardon time, Fannin time, Kimber time, Kean time' and so on. Instead, the narrative is aligned to Namarari's situation, typically linked to place. An expansion in family obligations, including a second marriage and commencement of work as a painter in the 1970s, impacted on his circumstances and options.

Chapters Nine and Ten focus on the 1980s and 1990s, when Namarari and his close relatives lived mainly at Kintore and its outstations. His role in the establishment of Kintore and his outstation at Nyunmanu is explored, along with his art and continuing relationships with PTA's staff. As his family expanded and his status rose as an artist, Namarari committed more of his time to painting. His reputation and his visibility grew through art awards and solo exhibitions. A selection of mid 1990s paintings are analysed to shed light on his practice and character. Namarari's life story account concludes with his death in August 1998.

Conclusion

This thesis responds to a growing national and international interest in Indigenous lives by focusing on the now-renowned artist, Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri, a Pintupi man whose life span coincided with the colonisation of the Western Desert region of Central Australia in the twentieth century. This thesis represents the first biography of a Pintupi individual. Namarari was chosen as a biographical subject to place his life story and its significance onto the public record and to explore his interaction with the cross-cultural world he encountered.

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[106] 'Arguments about assimilation in the 1950s and 1960s were far from straightforward' (McGregor, 2011, p. 110).

The thesis also explores the long-term relationship between Namarari as one of Papunya's founding artists and the Papunya Tula Artists organisation.

The question of how an Indigenous artist's biography may be written for a contemporary audience has received scant scholarly attention. This cross-cultural study adopts a multi-disciplinary approach, drawing on the fields of anthropology, social history and art history and the practices of life writing, oral history and formal art analysis. The biography was assembled from fragmentary data originating in existing oral history records and supplemented by interviews with relatives of Namarari and art advisors who worked with him over three decades. Papunya Tula's records were essential as the basis for Namarari's catalogue raisonne.

In the Conclusion to the thesis I provide a summary of Namarari's character, achievements and art career. I propose that Namarari's legacy is demonstrably significant and worthy of posthumous recognition.

Chapter 1

A Pintupi family, 1920s-30s

The setting for the opening of this story is the desert region occupied by Pintupi people in the 1920s and 1930s, beyond the fringe of the settled areas to the west of Alice Springs. This outback frontier formed part of 'the unregulated edges of the moral codes of settler civilisation' (Rowse, 1998a, p. 29) and the frontier itself was a dynamic, often violent place (Nettelbeck & Foster, 2007). Jones' observation that 'the frontier is not a hard line separating cultures but a zone' (2007, p. 245) accurately describes the setting. Sporadic contacts between the region's Aboriginal people and white newcomers occurred in that zone in a variety of circumstances as explorers, prospectors and missionaries moved through the area or local Aboriginal men temporarily left the area to visit places such as cattle stations or the Lutheran Church's Finke River Mission (FRM) at Hermannsburg.[107]

As early as 1923 '37 wild Natives' came in to Hermannsburg from the west (Leske, 1977, p. 36). Also in 1923 the Mission sent 'three native Christians' to the west to make contact with the local people. A group of nearly twenty 'tribal Aborigines' appear in a photograph from the 1920s at Hermannsburg (Henson, 1992, p. 46), as does a photograph of the evangelist Moses with the Pintupi man Kamutu (Leske, 1977, p. 33). It would therefore appear that it was Namarari's parent's generation who proactively established contact with the Lutheran Mission. People in Namarari's parents and grandparent's generations may have seen one of the many explorers around the turn of the century, as several trudged through the 'hopelessly arid country' (see Kimber, 1988). Then in the early 1930s 'the eastern reaches of the Pintupi lands were visited by several prospecting parties and by missionaries and probably by a police party – more visitors than in the preceding sixty years' (Long, 1989, p. 21). Namarari recalls in his interviews moving around the 'eastern reaches of Pintupi country', roughly bounded by Kintore and Putarti (see Map Two). There are no accounts of violent confrontations involving Pintupi people on the scale seen at Tempe Downs cattle station in the late 19th century, or the Coniston Massacre in Warlpiri country in 1928.[108] Through Namarari's recollections we can glimpse encounters, choices and actions in the frontier zone.

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[107] The nature and locations of these encounters and the interactions between the participants are described in Nettelbeck & Foster (2007), Smith (2005), Rowse (1998a), Long (1989) and Amadio & Kimber (1988).

[108] At least 30 and perhaps 100 Aboriginal men, women and children were killed in two weeks by Constable Murray's mounted expedition in search of two culprits for the alleged murder of one white man. See Nettlebeck & Foster, 2007, pp. 175-6; Amadio & Kimber, 1988, pp. 56-59; Batty & Kelly, 2012, and www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/nt-guide/chapter8/index.html.

The Mission's engagement with 'Aranda, Pitjantjatjarra and Loritja speakers' led its leaders to make 'Aranda the blanket language for use by their personnel' because 'the Aranda [people] were regarded [by Aboriginal people] as the bosses [of the land occupied by the Mission]'.[109] The Aranda evangelists who went out west in the 1930s (and encountered Namarari) 'spoke Aranda but would have began picking up the local language where they were staying'.[110] Hansen's view is that 'most Aboriginal people picked up other languages wherever they went and stayed for any length of time', including Namarari:[111]

> For the Aborigines coming in [from the west] it was easier to acquire another Aboriginal language than English because the thought world and thought patterns in Aboriginal languages are in a family. English was a long way away from it linguistically and concept-wise. Namarari like others would have made attempts to learn some words of English but it didn't come easy.

This chapter opens at Namarari's birthplace, Marnpi, southeast of Kintore. Namarari describes a variety of events from his childhood, beginning with family life, interaction with other families, and contact with the white newcomers. His narrative does seem to support Long's (1989) deduction that Pintupi movement eastwards from their traditional land was facilitated by the generally friendly contacts with newcomers. The choices to do so were made by the Pintupi (they were not forced to move), which is taken in this thesis as evidence of Pintupi self-determination. Namarari provides us with a personalised view of various aspects of contact history through anecdotes. Whilst his storytelling is mostly descriptive, one tragic event is remembered with deep sadness. After many years of travelling through their *ngurra,* his family makes intermittent contact with the new white people, heralding his departure from the area he consistently referred to as 'my country' as an adult.

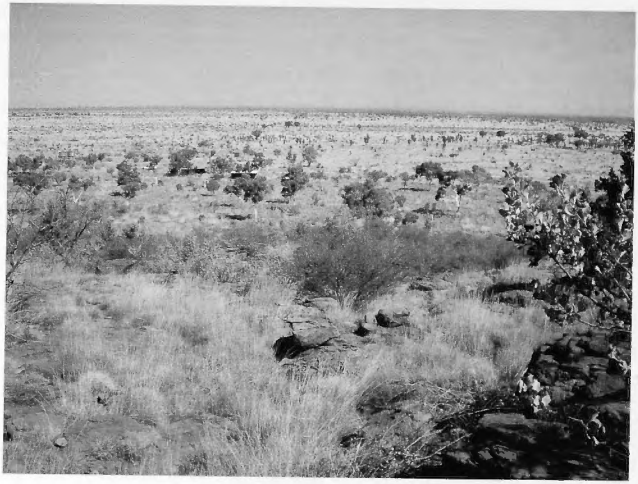
1 A place to begin

> The usual domestic unit of a "camp" including husband, wife or wives, and small children defines the closest group of *walytja* and the primary food-sharing unit. Beyond the unit are other family camps that may frequently coreside or reside as parts of the same band (Myers, 1991, p. 110).

[109] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW. 'Boss' in this context equates to traditional owner.
[110] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[111] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.

Figure 1 Sandhill country near the site Marnpi

Figure 2 Open country to the north of Nyunmanu



Namarari specifies *Marnpi* as his birthplace in the Kean interview, 'I was born at Marnpi. That is where my mother had me', and in the Batty interview, 'I was born at Marnpita.' He then confirms his parents are Pintupi speakers but does not use the name of either of his parents in the Kean and Batty interviews. At another point in the Kean interview Namarari refers again to Marnpi as his 'borning place' (an example of Aboriginal English) and casually mentions a more

recent event prior to the time of the 1989 interview. Namarari drew on the ground to indicate places and directions of travel when talking to Kean.

Interview extract 1a

Extract from Kean's audio interview with Namarari:

Namarari

Here. I was born in this place, borning place. Nobody find 'im, whitefella not found that place. There was one (KH: probably whitefella) *who was camping here, he did not see me. There was a sand hill here in the middle, but no hills. It was a sandhill. I saw that place a little while ago. There was a lot of water there. There were camel there, emu, kangaroos, turkey. We shot a kangaroo there at that place.* (JK: in the mid 1980s)

(End of extract)

Interview extract 1b

Extract from Kean's audio interview with Namarari, following his mention of Marnpi:

Kean

Your mother and father were in the bush where there were no whttefellas, is that so?

Namarari

Yes, there were no whitefella and we were all naked. We did not have any shirts. We used to make these.

Kean

Bush sandles? xxx

Namarari

We used to make these and we who were naked would keep them.

Kean

What was their language (KH: parents)

Namarari

Pintupi. They come up with the Pintupi. And we came along here.

Kean

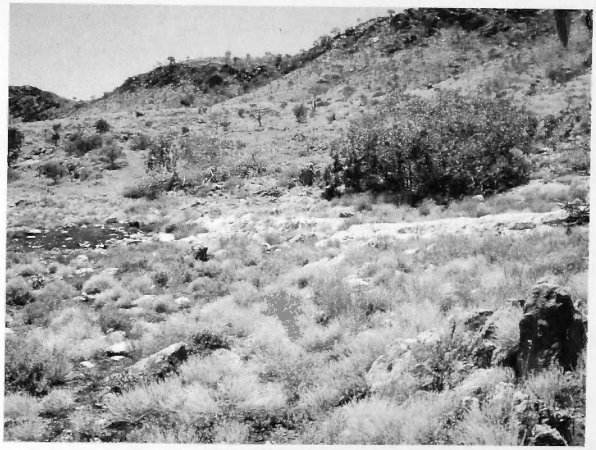
Right along from Piltarti not Piltarti Putati.

Namarari

Yes to Putati.
(End of extract)

Though he did travel 'right up to Putarti', it is unlikely that he went 'straight there' from Marnpi, not only because of the distance but because there are numerous water-places along the way as well. There are three main natural water storage forms in the desert: rockholes that are depressions in rock formations that hold water after rain; soakages that are areas between sandhills like swamps that fill temporarily after rain; and more rarely, permanent springs.

Figure 3 Putarti spring, within a clump of small trees on a hillside



Putarti is a hillside spring, otherwise referred to as a rockhole or as Putarti Spring/s. Though it flowed as a trickle, it was a constant and dependable water source, in contrast to rockholes or soakages. The vista at Putarti towards the west is of a vast, open, scrubby plain, with low ranges running to the southwest and visible away to the northwest. The nearby towering peak of Mt Liebig, though not visible, is to the northeast.[112] Ilpilli was another reliable spring in the Ehrenberg Ranges to the northwest of Putarti.

Namarari often uses the English word 'naked'. He refers to being a naked child before going to Hermannsburg, as do other Aborigines in similar interviews, remembering themselves as 'all the naked ones'. In the supplementary interview transcription for the film *Benny and the Dreamers*, Namarari, upon what appears to be his first visit to Hermannsburg, says, 'I put clothes on for the first time. I had a shirt and trousers, but I put them on back to front. I didn't know any better'.[113] This statement suggests that Namarari did not initially 'try on' clothes at the remote ration depots.[114] It was most likely an uncomfortable, if not strange, experience. Brock (2007) discusses contact including clothing and nakedness regarding Aborigines, missionaries and anthropologists in Central Australian settings, noting the latter 'tried to impose these views on Aboriginal people without consulting them over their own preferences'. She also identified 'nakedness as an indicator of pre-contact society' (Brock, 2007) in stories of first encounters by Aboriginal people of the region, which is the case too in Namarari's testimony. According to Brock (2007) the FRM in the 1920s 'developed separate clothing policies for the Arrernte living permanently at Hermannsburg, and the people who visited the station from the desert regions further west, who the missionaries referred to as Loritja'.[115] When Namarari later took up work as a stockman he was issued with a set of clothes, the stockman's uniform.

Interview extract 1c

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, following his mention of Marnpi:

Namarari

[112] I visited Putarti on November 23, 2010 with Namarari's grandson, Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa.
[113] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri, translations for the film Benny and the Dreamers, Supplement, 1992, p. 6. Supplied to the author by Philip Batty, October 2011.
[114] The FRM was preoccupied carrying ration foods out to the depots, it is unlikely they would have added the extra burden of clothes. The wearing of clothes was promoted at Hermannsburg not in the desert.
[115] A 'group of Aborigines from the west' appear in a photograph taken at Hermannsburg during the 1920s drought. They are 'wearing handkerchiefs provided by the mission as makeshift loin cloths after using the first issue as headbands'. (Henson, 1994, p. 46.)

I was lying there and my father was there as well. He was there and he thought, "Where will we go? Maybe we'll go over there to where? (pointing with right hand) *To Yilipili." Through here* (Nyunmanu assumed) *he went to Yilipili. Father followed a goanna, a wild cat and speared it* (points with right hand to his side) *it was a big pussy cat. Then he gutted it and threw out the guts, and sewed up the hole with a stick. We went to Yilipili and we tracked a perentie. He followed and followed and followed the tracks and saw it lying face down in the shade. He speared it here.* (points to both side of his neck)

Batty

Who did that?

Namarari

With a spear.

Batty

Your father?

Namarari

Yes he speared that big perentie and hit it with a stick to kill it. He cooked it and then we lay down for a while. (claps his hands together) *He got up and went to which group? To Warungkula's group. They were there all naked. I was naked too. We stayed with them. They speared and ate and ate meat around there.*

(End of extract)

Namarari recalled the importance of family travel and water places as he recounts his childhood. As that child he developed an acute sense of place and an awareness of people and his relationships with them. Walking between water sources was a constant in his childhood, with the time spent at each a consequence inter alia of its supply and the surrounding availability of food. His detailed recall of specific hunting activities suggests he was watching his father on some occasions. His family co-resided with Warungkula's family group at Ilpilli. Johnny Warungkula Tjupurrula will feature much later in this story as an artist and relative of Namarari.

2 The aeroplane man and first contacts

In the early 1930s an airstrip adjacent to the Ehrenberg Range was cleared and supplied as a base to fly inland aerial surveys, and many Pintupi had their first contact with white people (Kimber, 1988, p. 61). Batty identified about sixteen flights from this location during 1930-34, associated with Mackay surveys[116] and the Lassetter expedition and its aftermath.[117]

Interview extract 2a

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, he and others are at Ilpilli:

Namarari

All the naked xxx We all came together in one place. Children, men and women. We were all naked. It was at the important place Ilpili. And we saw, we had been eating alkura seed and then we saw an aeroplane man that went away from us, on that side, a long way off. Our fathers fled and entered, we all went and entered the dense bush to hide from it when we were at Ilpili. Our fathers and mothers went for meat, to the north. They went for goannas. [...] *We entered the thick bush and went around in there and then sat down. First time early days aeroplane man.*

(End of extract)

Namarari and Johnny Warungkula Tjupurrula are both known to have recounted the aeroplane man story often as an appealing 'early days' story for the whitefellas at Papunya.[118] The aeroplane must have been a shock at the time as it was fearfully perceived as 'a giant eagle' (Amadio & Kimber, 1988, p. 61) and people fled into the bush for safety.

That incident may be Namarari's first remembered experience of contact with the new white people, preceding his face-to-face contacts at Putarti and nearby Mt Liebig in 1932 (introduced below). Accounts of first contact between Aboriginal people and the whites appearing in their midst is a frequent topic in the telling and retelling of colonisation and Aboriginal history in Australia. In this case, rather than seeking to specify Namarari's 'very first contact' as a discrete moment in time and place, contact is presented as a series of incidents in the region during the early 1930s, based primarily upon his recollection.

[116] *Wilkinkarra* was named Lake Mackay on one such flight.
[117] Philip Batty, pers comm. September 3, 2010.
[118] Philip Batty, pers comm. September 3, 2010. Warungkula's account is in Johnson, 2007, p. 19.

3 Family travelling in the Ilpilli region

Immediately following the aeroplane man story, Namarari continues talking about life at Ilpilli. The reliable natural spring made it a desirable base for people of the region through the late 1920s and into the early 1930s, as the period 1925-1929 was one of severe drought across Central Australia.[119] Although there were some good rains in 1930, poor conditions continued in some areas through 1932 with drought-breaking rains arriving in 1934.[120] The drought exerted extraordinary pressure on people's capacity to survive.

Interview extract 3a

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, on life at Ilpilli:

Kean

Yes Warungkula was there?

Namarari

Yes. Warungkula was there and the others. There was no rain, it was a hot time like this is now.[121] *We used to gather together at Ilpili and the one reliable water. There was only one reliable water.*

Kean

At Ilpilli.

Namarari

All the other waters had finished. When it start rain, we would go in all directions,

Kean

Spread out for water,

---

[119] Droughts were devastating occurrences (see Kimber, 1988, pp. 60-61).
[120] Dick Kimber, interview with author, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.
[121] The Kean-Namarari interview took place in summer, November 1989.

Namarari

No, at the water time for food.

Kean

For food.

Namarari

There would be many new water spots around the place. We would eat animals all around the place. Then when all those water places finished up we would go back to the same one reliable water Ilpili right back.

Kean

Right back.

Namarari

Then we would stay there. They would dance the old ceremonies. They would dance there.

Kean

What is the word kantulpayi.

Namarari

They would dance ceremony. Their dances. It was when I was a child about this big.

Kean

That Warungkula was a big bigger?

Namarari

Yes, little bit bigger, like this. I was like this height. We were all children, all Pintupi.

(End of extract)

Namarari recalls being 'about this big', indicating his height to Kean with a raised hand. He probably remained at or nearby Ilpilli, speculatively for some years, due to the debilitating drought. Those must have been desperate times, 'all the waters had finished' except the ever-reliable Ilpilli, resulting in a concentration of people. At that age 'he was too young to have visited all the country known to his father and mother', though he was 'well-schooled in desert survival skills, he knew his extended family and many relatives', and he had 'a growing understanding of his Pintupi heritage and insights into the Pintupi world'.[122]

After rain people would move away for food gathering and hunting ('go in all directions') enabling Namarari to learn more about the region's animals and plants, water places and geography. Kean at first thinks they are spreading out 'for water', but Namarari advises 'no, for food' and Kean understands that correction. Their conversational style is enabled by Kean's limited familiarity with the Pintupi language and Namarari's comfort in talking with him.[123]

Namarari recalls ceremonies at Ilpilli. Children could have witnessed the ceremonial dancing or singing activities. Kean did not pursue details of the *kantulpayi*, though 'singing provides a salient image of sociability. Whenever large groups came together in traditional times, they would sing together at night' (Myers, 1991, p. 112). Here Kean asked the meaning of the word *kantulpayi* and Namarari responded, enabling Kean to continue learning. Namarari often demonstrates a willingness to teach interested people about his life and his culture, usually responding to the level of interest shown rather than inserting himself into situations as a self-appointed teacher.

Ilpilli was a focal point in the early 1930s where exchanges occurred – perhaps for the first time in that region between the local residents and the newcomers. It qualifies along with Putarti as the first colonial outposts of significance beyond the comparatively settled zone of Glen Helen-Hermannsburg-Tempe Downs. At Ilpilli, Aboriginal people encountered white people from the east including Mackay's survey team (who stayed for three months) and various gold-diggers using it as a staging post (Smith, 2005, pp. 59-60). Also, Pastor Albrecht's first trip 'into the west' with a group from the Mission stopped at

[122] Dick Kimber, interview with author, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.

[123] Kean described his Pintupi language ability as 'travelling Pintupi, enough to get around, enough to understand and be understood at a sort of everyday functional level'. John Kean, interview with author, May 25, 2010.

Ilpilli[124] before moving to Putarti where it 'found more Aborigines' (Leske, 1977, p. 50).[125] The various activities in the early 1930s of the whites in the Ilpilli region suggest that Namarari's family had multiple contact incidents.

In about 1934 Ilpilli's permanent spring was damaged and its flow interrupted by white prospectors using dynamite, marking it perhaps as the first desecration of an Aboriginal site in that region. As a result more Aboriginal people walked eastwards as part of the contemporaneous Pintupi migration (Amadio & Kimber, 1988, p. 62). Smith's examination of the local history led him to conclude that 'large numbers of Pintupi, Warlpiri, Pitjantjatjara and Kukatja' moved east because of the 'intensity of the contact with Europeans' (Smith, 2005, p. 62. See also Amadio & Kimber, 1988). The movement of Pintupi people out of the Ilpilli region eastwards is followed here through a focus on one individual: Namarari.

Interview extract 3b

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, beginning with another departure southwards from Ilpilli:

Namarari

Then he said, "We are going over there!" To where? To Warupuyu. We got up to go to Warupuyu. (points and clicks fingers) (KH: imitating father pointing in the direction they will go.) *I was a very small child lying in a coolamin. She went and went and went and put me down at Miti. My father went hunting for kangaroo at Miti. He went.* (pointing) *My mother went for goannas. She killed a few around the place and brought them back. Then she finally saw, "What is it?" My father was bringing in a kangaroo on his head.* (touches hand onto hat) *He had speared it* (pointing to his chest). *He brought it in and threw it down on the ground. He dug the cooking hole and cook himself.*

He raked coals over it and left it to cook. He ate the intestines with their fat (KH: considered a delicacy) *while he waited. After eating and eating the intestine he got the meat out of the cooking hole and cut it into larger cuts. He put a bed of leaves down and put the meat cuts on it.* (indicates actions with hands). *He put the back portion down, he put a leg cut down, he put another leg cut down, then he cut off and put down the rib cuts, put down the main body cut, put down the head cut.*

[124] Photographs of unidentified 'Ilbilla women and children' and 'Ilbilla men' were apparently taken at that time. (Leske, 1977, p. 50). It is possible that Namarari's relatives are among those groups.
[125] F W Albrecht was a Polish-born European-educated man with an abiding interest in language and culture and a commitment to taking the Gospel to the natives. He arrived at the Hermannsburg Mission in 1926. For accounts of Pastor Albrecht's and the Mission's activities see Henson (1994), Leske (1977).

Let's go!" We went a long way, three nights we camped along the way. Three night we bin camp. We carried (KH: probably the meat). *We went on and then we sat down, and he saw camel tracks there. The camel had gone on past us. He said, "xxx xxx go let's go to Patjalpa." xxx We went on and on to Alalya. We went to Alalya. We arrived at Alalya and stayed near the water, in the creek there. We lived there and ate and ate and ate. My mother was grinding bush grains there bush tucker make 'im damper with wangunu type seed, olden time. She cooked it and left it to cool. We were eating bush meat there, meat our people had always eaten. We ate and ate and ate, then I became an older boy* (raises hand in air to indicate height) *I used to throw stones at small birds. I would throw stones at them and eat them as my meat.* (throwing action)

(End of extract)

This extract's duration apparently spans many years, as Namarari grows from 'a very small child' dependent on his mother to carry and then 'put him down', to becoming 'an older boy' capable of stoning birds at waterholes to catch 'his own meat'. He had become an older boy, but significantly not yet a man.

Alalya is at the northern tip of the Cleland Hills, over fifty kilometres south of the Ehrenberg Range. Warupuyu is possibly south of Ilpilli and Miti's location remains unknown. The family may have visited those places many times during Namarari's childhood. The creek-fed cavernous water storage at Alalya[126] is considerable and would have attracted birds and animals, providing the young Namarari with ample opportunity for hunting practice and success. Alalya's natural abundance was confirmed by the family's ability to 'eat and eat and eat'.

Namarari refers to bush meat (bush *kuka*) as the naturally occurring meat of animals, consumed in the olden times. The English word 'bush' refers to areas beyond the limits of white settlement and references both distance and visibility, or being 'out of sight'. He distinguishes *kuka* from the post-contact ration food (ration *mei*) distributed by missionaries. The process Namarari's father used in preparing, cooking and distributing kangaroo meat is culturally determined in Aboriginal society and is a man's activity. The young boy would have seen this process many times, learning through observation. It is not unreasonable to imagine that he frequently watched his father tracking and spearing *malu* or *perentie*, then preparing and cooking the prized meat for the family. The young Namarari was learning from his father through repetitive observation. 'Bush tucker' (viz. traditional foods) was eventually incorporated as a subject and title for many paintings at Papunya in the 1970s.

[126] Alalya was visited by white explorers, along with nearby Muruntji. See Smith, 2005.

In the story thus far, Namarari describes apparently happy times of family life, travelling and eating, staying at one water place after another in search of food and eagerly following the replenishing rains. His family seems preoccupied with water and gathering enough to eat. However, the abundant Alalya area also harbours an unforeseen threat, in sharp contrast to his life's reported routines and activities up until now.

4 Family tragedy at Alalya

The documentary film *Benny and the Dreamers* (1993) provides an appropriate and relatively well-known[127] opening to this episode in Namarari's life story. It features Namarari and his classificatory brother Benny Tjapaltjarri.

Interview extract 4a

Extract from *Benny and the Dreamers*, where Namarari and Benny Tjapaltjarri sit side-by-side at Putarti:

Namarari

My father woke up early one day and went off hunting. I stayed behind. My mother also went off looking for goannas. I played about until others came back with meat. We cooked... we ate and ate.

We couldn't see father coming... so we began to worry for him. We looked for him all day... we were really worried. The sun crossed the sky and sank into the ground. Still nothing... nothing. My mother lay down crying.

Early in the morning, about this time, we set off following his tracks. I saw two eagles flying off. Some crows too. "Hey, it might be him... or something else." We walked over and I saw the tracks of the raiding party.

Benny

They speared him from behind...through the upper arm and out the other side. They dragged him along the base of the sand hill to the plain... where they left our father to die. Well, our grandmother stood up wailing. She thought like this... she was worrying. She thought like this "Oh no! My son... they killed him." "I'll have to make a fire and throw myself in it." She grabbed a big lump of

[127] Most Aboriginal people I met for this study knew the contents of this film.

spinifex, lit it and dived in. This bloke here tried to pull her out unsuccessfully. The fire burned him.

Namarari

Too late.

Benny

Too late! She was already stiff ... like this. Cooked by the fire.
(End of extract)

Benny's open-mouthed grimace and twisted hands, representing the grandmother's charred body, is a chilling image. It is difficult to comprehend the scale of that tragedy on a small family group. The father and grandmother are suddenly both dead. The violent death of Namarari's father followed by witnessing of the fiery death of his grandmother surely had a devastating impact on the boy. An important man to lead that boy into adulthood was now gone and one of his teachers, a grandparent[128], lay lifeless alongside the disfigured corpse of his father. Finished.[129] As Benny tells the story, Namarari remains for the most part very still and quiet, preferring to let Benny do the talking. Namarari's gaze stays fixed to the ground in front of him, staring in silence.

As Namarari and Benny are classificatory brothers, Benny sometimes refers to 'our' father and 'our' grandmother. However, it is unlikely that Benny witnessed the event; rather, he is recounting its details with Namarari in a shared storytelling style. For Namarari, his father's death is another of the stories he recounted for the interested listener, just as the more garrulous Benny was ever-ready with his own stories should a researcher appear with a tape-recorder.[130] Further insight into the family tragedy and its impact, including the location and aftermath, is provided by Namarari himself in the Kean and Batty interviews.

Interview extract 4b
Extract from Kean's audio interview with Namarari:

Namarari

[128] Grandparents often fulfilled important teaching roles in the camp.
[129] The English word 'finished' is used to describe 'all gone' and 'dead'.
[130] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 24, 2010, Melbourne.

My father was killed by a revenge party, like soldier.[131]

They speared him with spears. He had speared a cat and was taking the guts out of it. Those soldier came and they saw his tracks xxx They followed him and saw him and under the cover of thick bush they came and speared him with spears. Revenge parties we used to call them olden time soldier.

Kean

Yes soldiers, like a war. They used to go to fight.

Namarari

They continually fought people. They would follow them.

Kean

Who killed him, Pintupis?

Namarari

They were from Jay Creek. They were Arrarnta and Pitjapitja.

Kean

Where did they spear him?

Namarari

At Alalya. in the west. I bin lost him there. xxx My father died there.
(End of extract)

Interview extract 4c
Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari:

Namarari

[131] *Warrmala* - Revenge party, group of men on revenge expedition', Pintupi/Luritja dictionary, 3rd ed., Hansen 1992, p. 171.

About this time of evening my mother said to my father, "Yes, go and draw some water for us!" No it wasn't this time it was getting dark. He got the water and carried it on his head.

He speared a pussy cat brought it back cooked it and ate it. He lay down for a while got up and once more went. They may have seen him from the hill Walmanarra.[132] *He went and went in that direction to Karrinyarra xxx* (pointing and clicks his fingers). *He speared a wild cat with his spear and put the spear down and the spear thrower on the ground. Then he was gutting the cat. Well there was a man came up behind him. My father saw him when it was too late. My father tried in vain to pick up his spear and spear thrower, but the man trod on them and held them to the ground with his foot, his spear thrower, and his spear.* (slaps his leg with left hand). *My father couldn't get them. That one man came from behind him, he got his spear and he speared him.* (pointing) *I was a child at the time, otherwise I would have followed him and speared him. I would have followed him and speared him, if I had been a man. But I was only a child.* (slaps his left thigh, looks at Batty, pauses).

I was thinking as I went and I saw something, (looks up, pointing). *"Eh? There is a crow and a eagle flying up over there." Aboriginal people know from that sign that something dead is there. He had finished. I saw the tracks of my father's killer, and thought, "This was a revenge party man. Probably he speared my father and went." My grandmother followed the tracks for a bit crying as she went along* (quivering motion with right hand). *My grandmother was gashing her head in sorrow as she went. I cried and cried and cried, I was just a boy. My grandmother got a firestick and lit a big fire. She lit it and dived into the fire* (indicates hand to head). *I grabbed her to pull her out but I was too late* (pauses). *She had finished, she had burned to death* (dive-in motion with head and shoulders). *She had burned all over her trunk* all that. *Well never mind.* (KH: meaning no more of that it is too painful).

I thought and I said to my mother, "Mother dig a hole!" She dug and dug it out with a wirra (KH: small digging dish) (both hands scooping action) *She made it deep and wide like this.* (hand actions) *Those two who died were mother and son. My father and my grandmother. We buried them.* (looks up at Batty) *We cover them up and left them. We don't know where that place is now, we don't know* (claps hands together, shakes head, takes hat off to scratch his head).

(End of extract)

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[132] Hansen: Mick is probably saying "wanmalanga" or "walmalanga" which would be a synonym of "warrmalanga". It probably means that the revenge party probably saw him from the hill.

Namarari expressed a stronger pain and deeper sorrow here ('I cried and cried and cried. I was just a boy') than at any time in his interviews. He laments his age and its inferred powerlessness ('I was only a child'); he would have otherwise set off to avenge his father's death ('if I had been a man'). That impotence presumably added to his grief and suggests there were no men in the family group at the time (to follow and spear the attacker/s). Indeed, he mainly refers to one other person present: his mother. The possible whereabouts of his sisters is explained below.

Namarari's account of the tragedy is partly an eyewitness account and partly a reconstruction of the spearing scene, based on the 'evidence' of his father's predicament, as he understood it. It is most probable that he has told the story many times and consolidated it. There are additional details suggesting an eyewitness view in the original interview transcripts that are omitted from the published film *Benny and the Dreamers*. In the transcript Namarari adds that his father 'was speared through here' (pointing to his torso), 'feral cats had begun eating his bowel', 'there were lots of spears', and 'the point had drawn the bowel out and the tail of the spear was out the back here, I broke the spear off with my foot'.[133] Such details add to the harrowing nature of the memory. At one point in the interview Namarari says 'enough of this story', as its retelling became too painful to continue according to the translator Hansen. For Namarari that was a moment of felt intensity not simply the remembering of an event.[134]

The action of his grandmother ('gashing her head') is a cultural response to death and can be part of the 'sorry business' of grieving.[135] The mother and grandmother followed the father's footprints across the sandhills, sighted evidence of the killer's presence and then found the mute body. Namarari demonstrates with his hands and body during the video interview how the fire affected the grandmother: firstly her head and shoulders and then further down the body, finally engulfing her completely. As he was 'unable to pull her from the flames' he may have suffered some burns. Namarari concludes his story with the more matter-of-fact details of the burials and the emotionally draining journey away from Alalya.

At Alalya Namarari was about seven to nine years old.[136] At the time of his interviews with Kean and Batty he was nearly seventy years of age. Namarari seems to have some knowledge (shared with Kean in 1989) as to where the killers were from (Jay Creek). Though it is most unlikely he knew that as a boy at the

[133] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri. Translation for the film Benny and the Dreamers, translation by John Heffernan, 1992. 44 pp plus amendment of 4p. Used with permission of Philip Batty, Melbourne.
[134] At that point in the interview, Batty stopped filming and allowed Namarari to regather his composure. Philip Batty, interview with the author, March 24, 2010, Melbourne.
[135] Myers (1991, p. 133) states that 'grief leads close relatives to inflict injuries on themselves'.
[136] Namarari's year of birth is discussed in Ch. 2.

time, he perhaps learned the identity of the killer/s some time later.[137] His reference to Alalya being 'in the west' is because it is to his west as he speaks with Kean at Mt. Liebig: Alalya is southwest of Mt Liebig.

In addition to Namarari's account of his father's death at the hands of the *warrmala*, he recounted two other revenge killing stories later in the Batty interview (see App. 12). It is difficult to locate these in time and space though, both may have occurred at or near Iranytji and on each occasion it seems Namarari was still a boy and living with his mother. In those anecdotes Namarari expresses his sorrow for each of the individuals killed, which included his relatives, and on one occasion he 'cried and cried'. Revenge killings were a frequent occurrence according to Batty, who collected many similar stories from his other Western Desert informants.[138] An incident at Haasts Bluff involving the men dodging spears may not have resulted in spearings as the parties seem to have reconciled (according to Hansen's translation). The man, George, may have been targeted, as were relatives of Namarari. *Warrmala* sometimes 'killed the whole group to ensure that no witnesses remained',[139] though 'revenge expeditions' did not automatically lead to killing a person (Myers, 1991, pp. 118-119).

One final aspect that remains unclear concerns Namarari's sisters, as Namarari rarely mentions their presence. At one point in the interviews for *Benny and the Dreamers* Namarari says, 'Well my father got up and went off early one day for game. I stayed behind. My mother also went out looking for goannas. My two sisters Ikuka and Kurangki. There were three…',[140] but does not refer to them again in the aftermath of his father's death. In the Batty interview Namarari says that one of the sisters is still living (viz. in 1992) at Amoonguna (near Alice Springs), adding he has only one sister left of two, and their names were 'Kantitjungu and Ikunga'. According to Tindale's records of the family at Mt Liebig in August 1932, there were four sisters (see Ch. 2). The possibility remains that the individual/s responsible for Namarari's father's death had a hand in the removal of the sisters, a matter I revisit in Ch. 2.

At this point in the story the boy and his mother resolve to leave the Alalya area, for 'when an individual dies, everyone leaves the place' (Myers, 1976, p. 363). Knowing now that Namarari's father died *before* the family was at Mt Liebig in August 1932 (see Ch. 2), the tragic events recounted here occurred before that year, probably during 1930-32. At that time Namarari's mother was about fifty

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[137] Philip Batty, interview with the author, March 24, 2010, Melbourne.
[138] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 24, 2010, Melbourne. Namarari and Benny also present other 'revenge killing' stories in the 1992 interviews.
[139] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, pers. comm. November 23, 2010, Mt Liebig.
[140] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri. Translation for the film Benny and the Dreamers, translation by John Heffernan, 1992, pp. 21-24. Used with permission, Philip Batty, October 2011, Melbourne

years of age (see Ch. 2). Without the benefit of speaking with Namarari directly, it is difficult to gauge if Myers' general observation applies to him: 'Many of the Pintupi who have lost a parent in childhood show adjustment problems, an anger that is not appeased' (Myers, 1991, p. 178).

5 Surprises at Putarti

It was Namarari's mother who decided which way to travel and how to locate the waters en route to Putarti, showing she had knowledge of that country. Namarari recognises that some knowledge has since been lost concerning the location of some of the water places. They walked for perhaps five days. It seems there were no other members of the family. The grieving pair headed for the reliable water at Putarti, perhaps hoping or expecting to find other people.[141]

Interview extract 5a

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, picking up the story after the journey from Alalya to Putarti:

Namarari

As I went saw a perentie. Then I saw them, "What are those things over there? Those things standing all around the place?" I hadn't seen them before (laughs, looks at Batty). *The horses had gathered around the water. The brumbies were standing at the water there at Putarti. I raked coals over the wild cat and perentie meat and left them to cook. I ate and then I saw smoke from a fire. "Eh? There is smoke form a fire over there! Might be people there." Another father of mine got up and came to us. Old Kamutu.* (clicks fingers) *Old Comet. Another father of mine was living at Yirranytji then, there was a few of them. One died at Hermannsburg finish. There were two other fathers of mine living then Kamutu and Nirruwa. They have pass on* (flicks hands out). *They have all died, all of them. I don't have any fathers alive* (looks at Batty). *After that there was lots of us living there. An Aboriginal pastor used to teach us there about God.*

(End of extract)

Namarari indicates he spent considerable time around Putarti and Iranytji and his other fathers Kamutu and Nirruwa were there too. They were classificatory

[141] It was to this location that Namarari and Benny returned in 1992 for the recording of interviews for Benny and the Dreamers.

brothers (viz. Tjungurrayi) of Namarari's deceased father: one's father's brothers are also one's fathers (see Heffernan, 2000, p. 165). The fate of Nirruwa is unknown and the identity of the man who died at Hermannsburg is unknown, but Kamutu remains in this story until another tragedy strikes the family late in the 1940s. Namarari saw horses (brumbies are untamed horses) at Putarti and new people, including the Aboriginal evangelist from Hermannsburg, perhaps for the first time.

It is likely that the first missionaries Namarari personally encountered were Aranda evangelists, not white pastors, as Pastor Albrecht, the Mission's leader, had stationed some of his Aranda evangelists at Putarti/Iranytji. Iranytji is less than a day's walk to the east of Putarti.[142] It comprises a large rock-sided storage many metres wide and deep, gouged out of the base of a cliff and nearby is a plain running east-west between the two ranges that 'used to have a lot of kangaroo, goannas, now only a few'.[143]

It is probable that the Aranda evangelists played a mediating role between the Pintupi and the Lutheran missionaries. The evangelists sought to establish cordial relations with the local Aborigines and Namarari possibly heard Aranda spoken for the first time. During the early to mid 1930s the Mission's staff camped at the water places, arriving with camels laden with boxes of foodstuffs.[144] For the Pintupi this signalled the beginning of a relationship between themselves as receivers and the Mission as donors of rations, which Rowse (1998a, p. 5) described as 'the most mundane of cross-cultural relationships', in part because it required so little by way of 'mutual understanding'. Namarari's fleeting encounters in this localised cross-cultural environment will gradually intensify as both Lutheran missionaries and university scientists push into the area. Eventually, Namarari will engage in cross-cultural relationships that are anything but mundane.

6 Sorry business[145]

An unpublished segment from the interview transcript for *Benny and the Dreamers* complicates my attempt to specify the chronology of Namarari's travels

[142] I visited Iranytji at Berry's Pass in 2009 and Putarti in 2010 with Namarari's grandson, Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa. He estimated that walking from Putarti to Iranytji would take one day, and Iranytji to Haasts Bluff could also be done in one day. Alternatively, a more direct route from Putarti to Haasts Bluff passed south of the range containing Berry's Pass thence via Winparrku (not to be confused with Winparrku north-west of Kintore) to the east.
[143] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, discussion with author, Iranytji, November 6, 2009.
[144] Photographs of laden camels for early 1930s Mission trips to the west appear in Leske, 1977, p. 52. Following trips from Hermannsburg in 1930 and 1931 to Putarti, the 1932 trip included 'the transportation of flour, sugar, tea, some drugs and supplies on camels using a new tucker box, making about 4-5 kilometers per hour, to the Mission's base at Potati' (Leske, 1977, p. 52). (Potati = Putarti)
[145] An Aboriginal English term concerned with a person's funeral and associated cultural activities. See Myers, 1991, pp. 133-135.

in the early 1930s. It is a reminder that Namarari's recollections of travel do not necessarily describe a neat sequence of 'a to b to c to d to e' and so on, rather a more convoluted journey of 'a to b to e to b to d to a to b'. The implication in the unpublished segment is that Namarari went to Hermannsburg not long after his father's death and returned soon after to the west, thus it is appropriate to include it here. The implication elsewhere in Namarari's testimony that he first went to Hermannsburg from Iranytji with the evangelists may not be so (see Ch. 2). It is likely that he visited Hermannsburg a number of times in the early to mid 1930s, returning each time to the west.

What is significant here is that Namarari clearly distinguishes country that is 'not his' and was being led by someone who was affiliated with that country. As usual, his recollection includes a food anecdote, where opportunity and hunger make a potent combination.

Interview extract 6a

Extract from *Benny and the Dreamers* interview, unpublished transcript of Namarari and Benny interview with Hansen:[146]

Namarari

I went from west of Putarti. We went and dug up native sweet potatoes. Then we came to Putarti. After we stayed at Putarti we went this way to eh? To Tunil. We stayed there for quite a while, this was when there was no whitefellas about. I didn't know this country, I was ignorant. Then we left there and went to Tjarrawarra. The person who was leading the way for us knew the country, but I didn't. Well I saw that a wedge-tail eagle had killed some prey so I chased the eagle off and ate it myself. We then went through Itirrki to Yalpi. Then we ate witchetty grubs, then we crossed the Mereenie Range and went to Mayutjukurra near Missionary Plain. We then went to Intanti. I was a big lad then.

Hansen

Tell me about your mother.

Namarari

[146] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri, translations for the film Benny and the Dreamers, Supplement, 1992, pp. 5-6. Supplied to the author by Philip Batty, October 2011.

Hang on, we were gathering wapiti seeds. Well I saw them at Kulpitjarra, men and women together. Who was there?

Benny

Uyuya and Kamutu.

Namarari

My father was the other Kamutu and Katinkura. They were two brothers. Well we came together with a lot of people. We stayed there for quite a while because there was plenty of rabbits.

Benny

And also flour.

Namarari

Yes and also flour. They brought the flour on those things I was suspicious of, donkeys. We stayed there a good while. Well they said, that is the missionaries said, we should go to Hermannsburg, through Untanti. We went together at that time.

Hansen

What happened to your mother?

Benny and Mick

We buried her.

Benny

We cried and finished off.

Namarari

At Hermannsburg we had the sorry business. We had the sorry business for my father at Kulpitjarra.

Hansen

At Hermannsburg.

Namarari

Yes.

Benny

No at Kulpitjarra. After we finished the sorry business we went to Hermannsburg.

Namarari

There I put clothes on for the first time. We stayed there for a long time. I had a shirt and trousers but I put them on back to front (laughs). *I didn't know any better.*

(End of extract)

The interviewer Hansen is trying to follow stories about people and events being talked about by the two men. Namarari says that he and others (including Kamutu and Katinkura[147]) were led on a more southerly route eastwards from the Putarti area via Tarrawarra and Untandita to Kulpitjarra thence Hermannsburg. It appears to have been prior to 1932 ('no whitefellas about'). Namarari says Katinkura and Kamutu were brothers, which perhaps explains their presence at the sorry business for their classificatory (Tjungurrayi) brother.[148] In the Kulpitjarra area the sorry business was held for his father, suggesting it was 'sooner rather than later' following his father's death at Alalya. I am estimating here that it was the father Namarari lost at Alalya that he is talking about, since he mentioned elsewhere that he also lost a father at Hermannsburg (see Interview extract 5a, above), so it could be that the sorry business was for *that* father. Presumably, they

[147] Katinkura (alt. Katingura) related aspects of his 'first contact' stories to Ralph Folds (2001, see Ch. 1), which includes travel at and through Walungurru, Ilpilli, Putarti, Haasts Bluff and Papunya. I posit a connection between Katinkura and Namarari re the site Nyunmanu (see Ch. 9).

[148] Myers (1991, pp. 133-5) briefly describes death and grief.

returned to the west after visiting Hermannsburg where Namarari had put on clothes (another 'first contact' incident), chuckling at his own mistake in another touch of self-deprecation.

Conclusion

This narrative began in the early 1920s at Namarari's birthplace, Marnpi. His memories of childhood centred on camping, moving between water places with his family and sharing experiences with relatives in the Marnpi-Ilpilli-Putarti-Iranytji-Mt.Liebig region. He learned survival skills and developed a familiarity with the region's people, geography and nature. His descriptions concerning food, hunger and travelling ('foot-walking' is the Aboriginal English term) contrast with Namarari's deeply felt emotions concerning the violent deaths at Alalya.

Namarari heard other Aboriginal languages being spoken and began recognising and perhaps using new words. The donor-receiver relationship initiated by the Mission and described by Rowse persists as a feature of Namarari's life well into the 1960s. Under the influence of the Mission's evangelists some Pintupi families moved to their east. Though some visited Hermannsburg it seemed to hold no permanent attraction for them and the Haasts Bluff area emerged as their favoured location to reside. However, whilst camping may announce one's intention or desire it was no guarantee of security of tenure at Haasts Bluff.

I am endeavouring to decipher insights into contact history from Namarari's account of his early life. Namarari used Aboriginal English terms to refer to the pre-contact period as the 'olden times', whereas the 'early days' refers to the period of initial and ongoing contact with whitefellas. For Aboriginal people in the Western Desert making contact with the white newcomers entering their traditional territory typically occurred at waterholes.[149] In the early 1930s Namarari sighted or encountered white people on many occasions and also encountered previously unfamiliar Aboriginal people. The emotional content of those encounters is difficult to decipher though friendliness not conflict seems to prevail, setting aside the reportedly fearful impact of the aeroplane's sudden appearance at Ilpilli and Namarari's suspicion of donkeys. A miscellany of isolated incidents allowed the local people to develop some familiarity with the newcomers. There is no evidence from Namarari to suggest that either the Pintupi or the Mission's personnel were aggressive or violent toward each other.[150] As a consequence it seems that for at

[149] Notwithstanding the group of 37 Aboriginal men from the region who walked into the Hermannsburg Mission in 1923. (Leske, 1977, p. 36)
[150] Nor was there from the oral testimonies of Benny Tjapaltjarri or Hilary Tjapaltjarri examined for this project.

least some participants an atmosphere of trust emerged, sufficient to allow on-going engagement in the nascent cross-cultural environment.

It appears that Pintupi land was not under threat of physical occupation or general impairment by settlers. It is implausible that the Pintupi had any awareness of the British sovereign claim over the whole of their territory in 1829[151] when the British extended their claim westwards beyond the 129E line of longitude (which demarcates the WA/NT border), itself beyond the original 1770 British claim (by Lt. Cook) limited by the east coast of the continent and the 135E line of longitude (which passes just to the east of Alice Springs). The commencement of the relationship between the Pintupi people and the British colonising power, as defined by British sovereign claim, may be argued as 1770, 1788 or 1829. I am not discussing here the complex arena concerning the meaning of *terra nullius*, concerning the moral, political and historical interpretations of sovereignty, and of discovery and ownership through occupation (see Richter 2009 for an insightful explication). However, Richter's summary of the 'core assumptions' of *terra nullius* and 'sovereign lordship' is worth restating given Australia's colonisation by a European state: 'the rights of Christian princes to expand their dominions, the duties of Christian missionaries toward benighted heathens, the obligations of civilised men to bring order to savages, [and] the evolutionary advantages of advanced races over inferior ones' (Richter, 2009, p. 162).

[151] 'On November 5, 1828, the Secretary of State for the Colonies [in London] wrote to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, signifying His Majesty's pleasure that they should give orders to: 'The officer commanding His Majesty's Naval Forces at the Cape of Good Hope to dispatch one of the Ships of War … to the Western Coast of New Holland, with directions that he take formal possession of the Western Side of New Holland in His Majesty's name' (Schapper, 1970).

Chapter 2

Moving east away from home, early to mid 1930s

The Haasts Bluff locale was mostly vacant, as its original Aranda or Luritja inhabitants had moved to Hermannsburg and the region's cattle stations. The area to the south and southwest of the actual Haasts Bluff range (Annyali[152]) provided expansive camping space around such water places as Ngankirritji, Alalpi and Intakamu. The Pintupi exodus gathered pace, at least for those people who had dwelled in the ranges and plains country bounded by Walungurru (Kintore), Ilpilli, Putarti and Marnpi (see Map Two), the region referred to as eastern Pintupi country. It is likely that those Pintupi were responding to the immediacy of their situation, particularly the drought, and the relative ease of accepting the proffered ration foods. As the Pintupi and other Aboriginal people moved into and occupied the Haasts Bluff area, the cross-cultural contact zone became one of permanency (see Kimber, 1988, pp. 47-69). Namarari was an occupant of that space for over two decades.

It is timely to emphasise that any historical generalisations about 'the Pintupi' can be clarified by asking: just *which* Pintupi are being referred to? There is no evidence from anthropology, history or oral history that *all* the Pintupi universally acted corporately or moved in unison as one homogenous group during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. When contemplating the history of the Pintupi people in the twentieth century this thesis applies the question: where was Namarari at that time? By so doing it emerges that Namarari at times did not always stay with the majority of Pintupi people but rather with a small group of countrymen.

This chapter recounts Namarari's departure from the country familiar to him and the journey(s) east to Hermannsburg and return(s) to the Haasts Bluff area. The sites and places he mentions travelling to or camping at indicate his whereabouts though it is difficult to discern a watertight chronology from his interviews. Namarari's account includes travel, personal experiences, brief descriptions of place and he adds to the historical record by naming other relatives who came in from the west. Namarari does not comment on another event, the South Australian Board for Anthropological Research (BAR) scientific expedition to Mt Liebig in 1932, which recorded written and photographic details of Namarari and his family

[152] Namarari used this name in his interview with Kean.

for the first time, some details of which are included here under the subheading *Walytja* (family), a section that then features regularly in coming chapters. This chapter concludes with some insights into Namarari's transformation to manhood. Unsurprisingly, since the process of becoming a man is a sacred and private experience for the Pintupi (see Myers 1976, 1991), Namarari offers few details.

1 Pintupi coming in: Namarari's story

Namarari's account of coming in suggests considerable to-ing and fro-ing between Putarti/Iranytji in the west and Hermannsburg/Haasts Bluff in the east. The following three extracts show the nature and some details of his story, which I estimate occurred through the period 1932-1934 or so. By looking at these extracts in sequence an impression is gained of the nature of Namarari's mobility.

Interview extract 1a

Extract from Kean's audio interview with Namarari, where he mentions in quick succession coming in (as a child), and then living at Hermannsburg, Irantji and Alalpi. Iranytji is in easy walking distance of the Mt Liebig location of the scientific expedition, occupied by the BAR group in August 1932 (see below):

Namarari

They brought us <u>naked</u> ones in.

Kean

Who was it that brought you in? Pastor Albrecht.

Namarari

Yes, <u>That's him</u>.

Kean

Do you know Pastor Strehlow?

Namarari

Pas' Strehlow. He came with camels. He got the naked ones from west of Putati from where? Paara from the place Paara. We were all naked no trousers.

Kean

Yes. Were you a young man when you came in?

Namarari

No. I was not a man I was a child. xxx I came from there and grew up at Hermannsburg, ate the food, like what? It was flour. No it was before flour, I used to eat porridge, and wheat. It was grains of wheat. They used to grind it and cook it in a fire. We would keep eating it. When the wheat finished they then he make 'em shortbread you know flour. xxx There were no bullock there then. Later on they brought bullock there, I don't know how many years after. I stayed there and then came back this way. Some pastors brought me back with them to Alalpi. This direction from Haasts Bluff. I stayed there for a long time. It was here that I took notice of God's talk. xxx At the place Iyantja we ate Christmas flour bullock. Salt meat.

(End of extract)

Albrecht arrived at Hermannsburg in 1926 and undertook his first major trip into the west in mid 1930. However, it was Strehlow, not Albrecht, who was taken sick, on the mid 1931 trip with the itinerant missionary Kramer, venturing west of Putarti to the Kintore range. Strehlow was also at Mt Liebig in mid 1932 at the time of the BAR expedition. Perhaps on one of those occasions Strehlow trudged west to the site *Paara* (location unknown). It is unclear in Namarari's interviews whether or not he clearly distinguishes between Pastor Albrecht and Strehlow, who was the son of a pastor (Carl Strehlow) but not a pastor himself. In the winter months of 1930, 1931 and 1932 combinations of Albrecht, Kramer and Strehlow together with Mission staff travelled by camel into the eastern parts of Pintupi country (and Warlpiri or Ngalia country to the north) often returning via Tempe Downs cattle station to Hermannsburg. Trips by Mission staff into the west continued in the winters (mid-year) of 1934-36.

Interview extract 1b

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, picking up the story at Iranytji, perhaps after the BAR group had departed from Mt Liebig in late August 1932:

Namarari

They got up and got the camel and loaded them (demonstrates with hands). *They put the boxes on the camel and went* (motions like a swinging camel, claps hands together). *Haasts Bluff, Haasts Bluff was there, and I slept there, there was no houses. Then we went to Hermannsburg. They took me. Hermannsburg. Pastor Titus took me. I went and went and went on the camels and we slept at Kupulu. Then we finally got to Hermannsburg.*

(End of extract)

Figure 4 The Iranytji waterhole (dry, in 2009) at Berry's Pass, near Mt Liebig

Namarari previously confirmed the presence of evangelists at both Putarti and Iranytji. Here Namarari recalls going with one of them, Titus, to Haasts Bluff 'before there were houses' and passing through the area and Kupulu (location unknown) *en route* to Hermannsburg. It is difficult to definitively determine from Namarari's interviews if he went into Hermannsburg for the first time before, during or after 1932. I estimate 1931-32. It is likely that he and others travelled into and out of Hermannsburg a number of times in the early to mid 1930s. His father

Kamutu was photographed at Iranytji in January 1934.[153] A group of seven Pintupi boys were also photographed[154], and it is possible that Namarari was there with Mintunmintun (his father). Those journeys back and forth with relatives and men such as Titus accompanying the laden camels or donkeys may well have been an adventure for a young boy.

Interview extract 1c

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari following his departure from Iranytji and arrival at Hermannsburg. Namarari mentions the construction of the rations shed at Haasts Bluff, which was not built by the Mission until the mid 1940s. This extract opens at Hermannsburg:

Namarari

There was ration food there. Ration food, flour. Wheat food Wheat flour, sugar, brown sugar, jam, honey jam. After that they used to give us. I became homesick for my country and I said, "We've been here long enough, let's go back. We are homesick." (claps hands together, clicks fingers, scratches forehead, adjust hat) *We started back. We slept at Kanki. We ate and ate and ate rabbits. We stayed there a good while. Then after that we stayed at a lake, but there were no houses there then. A group of whitefella builders came. They made one shed. It was a shed for food rations at Haasts Bluff* (pointing). *After that motor car, they brought ration with camel. We did not come back here again. We continued to live there. After staying and staying there after that we thought, "We will go now to another place." We got up* (claps hands together, pointing) *and carried flour with us on our heads, tea and sugar* (indicates carrying). *We stayed at Intakamu. We stayed there a while at Intakamu then they sent some people to us to bring us back. He said, "No we are going to Ntari"* (claps hands together, points). *We went to and he was standing there again that white man. It was Mr Grey who followed me[155]. He gave us hangkies and lollies. We used to get lollies there, and food flour damper and a plate. We got plate as well* (laughs). *After that they brought us back again on the camels, to stay at Haasts Bluff with rations. We stayed there a long time, getting rations all the time.*

(End of extract)

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[153] Strehlow Research Centre, Acc. no. 06213, 'Kamutu (Pintubi) at Ayanti Jan 1934'. Sheet 2 (10) 4414 notes 'Komutu (who had no fewer than five wives)'. Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, December 2, 2011.

[154] Strehlow Research Centre, Acc. no. 08046, 'Pintubi boys with Titus's donkeys at Ajantji, February 14th, 1934'. Viewed at Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, December 2, 2011.

[155] I am unable to discern this sentence on the recording.

Namarari refers to 'we' without specifying who was with him at the time. The lake he mentions may be Ngankirritji, near Haasts Bluff. The water place Ngankirritji (alt. *Nankeritara* in Leske, 1977, p. 56) was an oft-mentioned camping place at Haasts Bluff due to its good water supply. However, the semi-sedentary population's increasing demands denuded the supply. A well sunk into the creek also proved temporary and the 'whole population moved to nearby Alalbi' (about eight kilometres east of the present-day settlement), which had a soakage in the creek (Leske, 1977, p. 57). The location of Kanki is unknown and Intakamu is southwest of Haasts Bluff.[156]

Namarari and his companions apparently made independent choices about where to stay and where to go after their initial contacts with the missionaries, notwithstanding Mr Grey reportedly saying 'we are going to Hermannsburg'.[157] Given his role, he may have been a Mission functionary of some kind, insisting that the group should leave Intakamu and go to Hermannsburg. At that time the Mission provided 'lollies and plates', as Namarari recalls another micro-step in introducing European paraphernalia to the bush natives.

2 Walytja: the Mt Liebig record

The University of Adelaide saw itself as ideally placed to study the natives of Central Australia. The chief vehicle for such endeavors was the BAR, which included Norman Tindale, an anthropologist and scientist.[158] The scientific party attended to physical anthropology, including morphological and physiological features, and social anthropology including descriptions of kinship structures and cultural patterns. Long described the coordinated effort that went into gathering Aboriginal people at Mt Liebig and the Mission's pivotal support, led by Pastor Albrecht. Titus, the Aboriginal evangelist mentioned here by Long, also appears in Namarari's account:

> Meanwhile the Lutheran missionaries at Hermannsburg had helped to arrange for a group of Pintupi to be at Mt Liebig for the purposes of the Adelaide University anthropological expedition in August 1932. E.E. Kramer, an independent Swiss missionary in Alice Springs, supported by the Aborigines' Friends Association, [...] undertook to gather Aboriginals at Mt Liebig for the University researchers. [...] Strehlow contacted the group of

[156] I visited Ngankirritji with Alison Multa Narupurrula on May 29, 2013 and identified the location of Alalpi.

[157] The man 'Mr Grey' remains unidentified, as no mention of him was found in *A vision and a mission* (Leske, 1977) or *A straight-out man* (Henson, 1994). The Strehlow Research Centre could not identify such a person. (Pers comm. Graeme Shaughnessy, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 2009.)

[158] Tindale played a significant and enduring role and became adept at working with Aboriginal people. He was given a kinship name and totem at Hermannsburg, along with other BAR group members, which facilitated his engagement with people at Mt Liebig. (see Walters, 1988, p111 and Jones, 1995)

> Pintupi who had previously been camping at Putarti with the two Aboriginal evangelists from Hermannsburg (Rolf and Titus Rengkararka) before making a camel trip west to the Kintore range with one Pintupi guide, Lilitjukurpa [...] Partly as a result of these efforts, there were some ninety Walpiri (Ngalia), Pintupi and others at Mt Liebig when the University expedition was there in August (Long, 1989, pp. 20-21).

Strehlow traversed the region in mid 1932, encouraging people to go to Mt Liebig. It cannot be discounted that Namarari may have sighted Strehlow or Kramer at one of the waterholes. One might speculate as to whether the first unfamiliar constructions seen by Namarari were the Mission's flimsy huts at Putarti (reported by Strehlow), or the canvas tents at Ilpilli used by the Mackay or Lasseter camps. Whatever the case, it seems that Namarari's sightings of unfamiliar paraphernalia introduced by white men were sporadic and gradual.

This summary of Tindale's findings and records is drawn from the South Australian Museum archive,[159] and whilst it temporarily interrupts the chronological narrative of Namarari's life story, this detour via Mt Liebig is highly informative. The BAR group systematically created written records including data cards and genealogical charts drawn from their Aboriginal informants. Tindale's records suggest that he was adept at collecting and recording information and that the Aborigines were forthcoming.[160] Tindale provided the first written identification of the person at the centre of this story: Namarari.

Tindale recorded a boy Ngamarare of about nine years of age, 'No. 23 on the List of natives studied at Mt Liebig in 1932',[161] and an accompanying photograph (see Fig. 5). Information on the card for Ngamarare[162] includes physical and social data. The card states the subject's native name is *Ngamarare*, male, aged *c9*, of the *Pintubi* tribe, born at *Manbi* south of *Ilbilla*, in the subclass *Purungu (Tapaltjari)*, with the totem *mallu* and *takanba*. His father's name is *Takantjukurupa* and his mother's name is *Meiyenu*. Takantjukurupa is also *Pintubi*, subclass of *Tararo*, born at *Manbi* and died at *Manbi*,[163] with the totem *Takanba animal in sandhills*. Meiyenu is *Pitjintara*, subclass *I'paruka*, born at *Lorongongora*, with the totem marked *unknown*.

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[159] Tindale's record relevant to this thesis is provided in App. 7. Walytja and kinship (regarding his record of Namarari's family in 1932.)
[160] See Walters, 1988 for an insightful treatment of Tindale's methodology and engagement with Western Desert Aboriginal peoples.
[161] SA Museum AA346-3-8-1_p1
[162] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H23 p2
[163] However, Namarari stated in his interview with Kean that his father died at Alalya.

Figure 5 The first known photograph of Namarari (c9 years), Mt Liebig, 1932[164]

Tindale's genealogical sheets record the following details.[165] Namarari's father is listed as: *'Takantjukurupa'* skin name *Taroro* (*Tjungarai*), *'husband'*. His subclass 'Taroro' is the equivalent of the contemporary form Tjungurrayi; it is spelled *Tjungarai* on Tindale's sheet. It appears from Tindale's Sheet 2 that Takantjukurupa had relatives to the west of Kintore, as one of his parents *Kurutara lives at Wararu* west of Walungurru and is listed as the *Wenamba tribe*. *Takantjukurupa* is listed as *dead* at that time (August 1932). Namarari's mother is listed as: *Maijenu: (c 50yrs.),* first wife of *Takantjukurupa,* fourth wife of *MintunMintun, no children by Mintunmintun.*

Tindale's record confirms that Namarari's mother Meijenu was already with her second husband, Mintunmintun, by August 1932 at Mt Liebig. She became the wife of Mintunmintun[166] after arriving safely back at Putarti after her husband's death. Mintunmintun became father to Namarari thus Mintunmintun's children become Namarari's siblings. Tindale's note states that *Mintunmintun received Meiyenu because his father was the younger brother of father of Takantjukurupa,* thus he was Namarari's grandfather's brother's son, placing him appropriately in Takantjukurupa's generation. Mintunmintun is also known or became known by the Aboriginal name 'Kamatu', which was corrupted to 'Comet' in English.[167]

It appears from Tindale's record that none of the sisters are still with the family at Mt. Liebig in August 1932. None are listed as *in camp here* like their

[164] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H23 p1
[165] SA Museum AA346-5-5_01 (sheet 1) and SA Museum AA346-5-5_02 (sheet 2).
[166] Tindale used two versions of this man's name: MintunMintun and Mintunmintun.
[167] Two photographs of Kamutu 'a Pintubi tribal chief' appear in Leske (1977, pp. 33 & 53), the first possibly at Hermannsburg in the 1920s and the latter probably 'out west'.

mother Meiyenu. This scenario might explain why Namarari refers to his mother and himself *only* in the aftermath of the tragedy at Alalya – all sisters had departed the family.

According to Tindale's records Namarari had four older sisters. They are listed on Tindale's sheet 2 as: *Aniljuru lives long way west in Pankoberi country; Inganka killed the other day; Kandindangu age of puberty taken away by someone else living still alive*; and *Ikunga*. Namarari gave his sisters names as *Ikuka* and *Kurangki* in the Batty interview. Trying to resolve the discrepancies in their names (or the spelling of their names) here is difficult. It is possible that Namarari did not know or recall his eldest sisters, or did not want to speak about them, or, Tindale's record is inaccurate. There is additional information about the sisters on Tindale's data card for Mintunmintun.[168] Namarari's sister *Ingangka* and her husband are noted as *killed the other day 30 miles northwest of Mt Liebig*. This suggests that in a relatively short period of time, four of Namarari's close relatives died (father, grandmother, sister, brother-in-law), including three who were killed.

On Tindale's data card for the boy Ngamarare[169] is the following entry: *1 sister Ikunga older young woman now in MacNamara's country Inganka eldest.* The only 'MacNamara's country' located in the region was Bowson's Hole cattle station, adjacent to Tempe Downs station, where Billy McNamara was the manager in the 1920s-30s. However, since a number of records do establish that Ikunga lived at Tempe Downs, she may have already gone there prior to August 1932.

The *tjukurrpa* and *ngurra* affiliations recorded by the BAR group of Namarari's parents will be considered in conjunction with Namarari's art, as some of the sites he painted relate to information about them. The change of Namarari's subsection name, from Purungu to Tjapaltjarri is briefly discussed in App. 7.

3 Pintupi coming in: Watuma Tjungurrayi

Namarari reports some other arrivals into Haasts Bluff, stating that he preceded both Watuma Tjungurrayi[170] and Benny Tjapaltjarri. Namarari refers to Watuma as Watumanya.[171]

Interview extract 3a

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[168] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H11
[169] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H23
[170] Known as Charlie Watuma Tjungurrayi, or Charlie Tjararu/Tarawa Tjungurrayi (Johnson, 2008, pp. 56-7).
[171] Ken Hansen specified that -nya attaches to proper nouns ending in a vowel and -pa/-nga attach to nouns ending with a consonant. Pers comm., April 14, 2009.

Extract from Kean's audio interview with Namarari, where Kean's opening question refers to the Mt Liebig area as 'here' and Namarari clarifies it was at nearby Iranytji:

Kean

Do you remember a long time back pastor Strehlow mob, and pastor Albrecht mob used to live here?

Namarari

Yes they were living at the place Iyantjala.[172]

Kean

Yes And the Pintupi's came in, the ones who belonged to Kintore.

Namarari

It was after me that they came. Watumanya group came in after me.

Kean

Did you come in together with Watumanya?

Namarari

No. He came in later, to where? We shifted from xxx his mob was coming in, my younger brother Benny as well Tjapaltjarri. They came in and arrived at Haasts Bluff. That was Watuma, There were many of them came in to Haasts Bluff. There was no food. They were eating flour at Haasts Bluff. They ate bullock meat, nanny goat meat, flour, tea, sugar. That is what they ate there, they did not eat that around here. They only ate bush meat here, no other food. I was a small boy then.

(End of extract)

[172] A large cleared area on the north side of Iranytji was the missionaries camp according to Namarari's grandson, Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa. I visited Iranytji at Berry's Pass with him in November 2009.

There were perhaps more Pintupi movements along the Putarti-Irantji-Haasts Bluff-Hermannsburg trail than history records. It is more likely that Watuma came in to the Haasts Bluff area in the mid 1930s and Benny Tjapaltjarri did not come in until the 1940s (see Ch. 4).

Watuma was involved in an incident as a boy in the mid 1930s with Pastor Albrecht and his close friend Dr Duguid, a visitor from Adelaide. This sheds light on individual mobility and reinforces 'contact' as a diffuse process for the Pintupi. Helene Burns, Pastor Albrecht's daughter, recalled Watuma's temporary stay at Hermannsburg (referring to him here at Tararu) when she was about ten years of age in 1936.[173] She recalled that the boy 'had yaws' and 'came in with dad and Charlie Duguid and he was dying'. They 'put him on Charlie Duguid's camel and brought him to Hermannsburg from Putarti or Haasts Bluff.' Burns thinks 'he was about eight, a very, very skinny eight year old, riddled with yaws, which is malnutrition'. As well as 'feeding him and getting him into warm clothes at Hermannsburg', he was given 'injections daily', and when he was 'stronger he was sent back to his people on camels'. Dr Charles Duguid admired the boy and named him 'Charlie'. It seems that Watuma, rather than coming in with a group by foot was brought in for temporary treatment and then taken back. Whilst Namarari frequently described himself as 'very hungry' he did not indicate (in his interviews) if he suffered from the condition afflicting Watuma.

Burns states that Watuma was sent back to his own people. The missionaries did not keep him at Hermannsburg after his treatment, reflecting their policy of avoiding having the people from the west settling at Hermannsburg. Watuma was the same kinship subsection (Tjungurrayi) as Namarari's father, affording him a father-son connection to Namarari. Perhaps more importantly, he was a younger brother of Kamutu (Johnson, 2008, p. 13). Watuma re-enters this story when accompanying Namarari on a new adventure (see Ch. 3).

4 Camping around Haasts Bluff

For Namarari it seems that mobility was a constant, and opportunism regarding food persisted. An emerging pattern is that the Pintupi expressed their preferences by where they placed themselves physically – situating one's camp or *ngurra* in association with one's *walytja*. At Hermannsburg the feeling of 'being homesick' prompted Namarari to return to the Haasts Bluff area and seemingly remain there. Older people such as his mother may have had a preference for sitting down at Haasts Bluff and avoiding the long walk to Hermannsburg, as

[173] Helene Burns, interview with author, Melbourne, March 25, 2009.

Namarari did not include her name in reference to being at Hermannsburg. One question that preoccupied Albrecht was 'where will the people from the west live'? He was well aware that their ongoing presence potentially was in conflict with the area's status as a cattle lease, which meant it could become a contestable space.

Whilst not apparent in Namarari's testimony, creek lines and rivers (which flow intermittently) were natural walking pathways. For example, Glen Helen and Hermannsburg are connected by the Finke River, which then continues south through cattle station country, including Tempe Downs. Individuals such as Namarari were developing an affinity and familiarity with the greater Haasts Bluff region – walking and hunting, camping at the water places, and being observant. Additionally, they were the new fringe dwellers of the region's cattle stations, working out how to make their way in a nascent cross-cultural environment. Whilst the Mission's history and perspective is on the record (Albrecht, 2002; Henson, 1994; Leske, 1977), the same cannot be said for the Pintupi at Haasts Bluff in the 1930s-1940s.

Namarari continues talking here about events and people in the Haasts Bluff area. My estimation of the time is around 1933-36. In this extract Namarari and others move around Haasts Bluff, Yatemans Bore, Tarruwarra, Putarti, Mt Liebig and Glen Helen (Kuutji).

Interview extract 4a

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari (where Batty's limited understanding of Pintupi causes him to struggle in comprehending some responses):

Namarari

Then the sun went down. We used to move around (claps hands together). *Haasts Bluff,* (looking down at floor, seeming to trace with right hand), *Yayitman bore, Tjarruwarra, Putati and Mt Liebig. We used to go around those places. Well we slept until morning and went to another water, to where?* (looking at ground). *To Kuutji. Old Raggett used to live there.* (looks at Batty). *Was that who it was? Maybe. We lived there no grog. We used to get rations. Have you seen Glen Helen?* [Batty: Yes} *You know that shed, where the meat used to lie?* (demonstrates with hands). *There was a great amount of meat there.*

Batty

Yes shed yes I've seen it.

Namarari

That shed is not new, it is very old. (clicks fingers many times*). It is where the meat used to be.*

Batty

Did you see it as a child?

Namarari

Yes I saw it as a child. What type of meat was it? It was salt meat. He used to hang it up and leave it there. (demonstrating) *We used to live near there at the side of the hill* (pointing). *He used to give us bullock meat in a ration, and tea and sugar. Someone from Hermannsburg used to climb up on the hill* (pointing). *He used to climb up and go along the top and go down near a cliff. He used to look around up there for food, and he carried a bag with him. Then he climbed the hill again and went back same one to Hermannsburg* (demonstrates carrying a bag over shoulders). *We used to watch him from the ground, he used to get honey. We used to live on the damp ground there.*

After staying there we would get rations, at Glen Helen (clicks fingers) *and go to Alala, carrying our rations* (demonstrates). *We would stay there where there were rabbits. We stayed there a long time. Then we would eat yawalyurru food, rabbits, goannas, perenties, xxx and kangaroo. Do you remember that half-caste Bill Lang? He used to live there* (looks at Batty). *He would kill bullock meat and eat it* (shifts his sitting position, scratches his head and lightly tugs on his beard).

He died. Then he would kill bullock meat and give it to us. He was not supposed to do that, he stole that meat and gave it to us. After that he used to kill nanny goat for us and give us the meat. That Lang used to give us goat meat, he was a Tjampitjinpa. Finished now. I feel sorry when I think of him. Then we stayed and stayed and stayed there (speaking quietly).

(End of extract)

Namarari talks about getting food at many places and makes no mention yet of work, though some individuals employed on stations such as Lang[174] provided him with food, sometimes (apparently) through theft. It seems Namarari was still living a partially nomadic small-group lifestyle no longer in familiar Pintupi country, preferring the edges of cattle stations, such as Glen Helen, and the water places nearby. His reliance on ration foods and station meat is apparent, suggesting an emergent dependency in combination with hunting.

According to Namarari, they did not make a concerted effort to return deep into the west beyond Putarti. He said, 'we did not come back here again', referring either to Pintupi country generally or the Nyunmanu region specifically (the location of his 1992 interview with Batty). In his interview with Kean, Namarari also referred to his visit to Hermannsburg and return to Alalpi. Albrecht reported that the evangelists originally based at Putarti had relocated to Alalbi (Alalpi) at Haasts Bluff by mid 1935 (Leske, 1977, p. 53). The Pintupi, through their insistence on camping at that place, had possibly caused the Mission to relocate its staff. It may be that both the Mission and the local Pintupi had each come to a view that 'we can get them to do things for us': if we feed them they will stay there, if we stay here they will feed us.

The Pintupi residing at Alalpi were also linking themselves culturally into their new circumstance. The Aranda evangelist Titus had 'married a Pintupi woman from Haasts Bluff' (Henson, 1994, p. 136), which should not only be seen only as satisfying his need for a wife, but as a means for the Pintupi, through marriage, to help resource their own interests via kinship affiliations as well. Concurrently, Albrecht was doing his best to influence the ways in which marriages were arranged by the Pintupi men (Henson, 1994, pp. 138-140), a far greater challenge to cultural practices than that of trying on clothes or eating different foods. If the new community at Haasts Bluff persists it may become a site for a sustained level of contact between differing cultural systems, comparable to the scenario that attracted the anthropologist Tonkinson to Jigalong on the other side of the sprawling Western Desert expanse (see Tonkinson, 1966).

5 Age and school

Two minor questions unresolved in the literature are best addressed here

[174] The name 'Lang' was originally transcribed by the translator Hansen as 'Lake'. My attempts to locate the man 'Lake' in the historical record proved fruitless. On re-listening to the video recording I understood Namarari to be saying 'Lang'. The 'half-caste Billy Lang' is reported by Rowse to have been a stockman and dingo scalper at Glen Helen, possibly in the 1930s-1940s (Rowse, 1998a, pp. 90 & 96), which fits with Namarari's account here.

before closing this chapter: what was Namarari's year of birth and did he attend school at Hermannsburg? Whilst Namarari is unlikely to have been able to shed light on the first he could have spoken about the second if asked in Pintupi. These two lesser matters are a prelude to a topic of supreme significance: the beginning of Namarari's manhood.

Estimates of Namarari's year of birth range widely, from 1916 (Isaacs, 1999, p. 46) to 1930 (Crumlin & Knight, 1991, p. 141) though it is commonly given as c1926. Tindale's 1932 photograph of Ngamarare records his age as 'c9', which would mark c1923 as the year of birth (in the range 1922 to 1924). If, as an experienced anthropologist, Tindale's assessment of age is reasonable, it is unlikely that the boy was born in 1926, making him six years old when Tindale met him, not nine. A related question is: where did the popular figure of 'c1926' originate? The answer is likely to be found in the lists made of Aboriginal people living at Haasts Bluff in the mid 1950s, one by Tindale on his return and the other by the Northern Territory's Welfare Branch. I prefer Tindale's estimate in 1932 at Mt Liebig to the estimates made over twenty years later at Haasts Bluff, where observers most likely guessed 'he looks about 30'. Namarari did not use calendar years to mark the passage of time and would not have chosen '1926' (or any calendar year) as his year of birth.

The second question is whether or not Namarari attended school at Hermannsburg. There are claims that he did so, including 'up to eleven years of age' (Johnson, 2008, p. 40).[175] Unfortunately, attempts to locate school records for the 1930s proved fruitless.[176] Two teachers from the era did not recall the name 'Namarari'. Ruth Fehlberg remembers the artist Albert Namatjira but 'not any Pintupi people', advising that classes were conducted in Aranda and English (not Pintupi).[177] Hilda Fietz also remembers 'no Pintupi scholars'.[178] Namarari makes no mention of 'school' in his extensive childhood recollections with Kean and Batty. Mission policy at the time specified that the people from the west should stay at Haasts Bluff and not reside at Hermannsburg, illustrated by the case of Charlie Watuma in 1936. The Mission had no reason to place Namarari or other Pintupi children into their school and every reason not to. I asked a number of Namarari's relatives if he possibly attended school at Hermannsburg and they replied either 'no' or 'probably not' or 'not sure'.[179] Based upon these assessments

[175] Namarari does not use numbers to indicate years or time periods in the Kean and Batty interviews.
[176] Enquiries by author: the Finke River Mission, the Strehlow Research Centre, and the Lutheran Church Archives held no attendance lists from the 1930s of any kind.
[177] Ruth Fehlberg (nee Pech), teacher at the Hermannsburg school from 1935-1940, pers. comm., August 5, 2007.
[178] Hilda Fietz (nee Wurst), teacher at Hermannsburg school from 1940 onwards, pers comm., August 3, 2007.
[179] Author's enquiries with Namarari's relatives.

and the current lack of firm evidence to the contrary, it is improbable that Namarari attended the Mission school on any regular basis.

6 Becoming a man: *wati*

Initiation represents radical change from the boy to the man. Myers suggests it may provide 'a way in which a man is reoriented to a greater value than his relatedness to kin – to The Dreaming. [...] The description of sacred objects, songs, and the like as "Law" emphasizes their obligatory power' (Myers, 1991, p. 118). Myers summarises the stages of development representing the male life cycle, paying close attention to initiation as 'it is concerned primarily with the transformation of individuals' (Myers, 1976, p. 513). He addresses key issues such as knowledge, power, responsibility, value and relationships and points out that:

> One's progression through the life cycle takes place only through performance and participation in ceremonies. It thus depends on other men and their willingness to teach. One moves from being "looked after" (or 'held") by seniors to "looking after" and instructing others (Myers, 1991, p. 237).

Myers describes the status and position of initiated men (*wati*) as serious because at the completion of circumcision the initiate is told, 'you're a man (wati) now, like all of us' (Myers, 1976, p. 507). Hansen's insights into Aboriginal culture and his familiarity with language enabled him to clarify terms concerned with male identity for someone like Namarari:[180]

> The term 'bigger boy' was used before initiation but he would not use the term once he's initiated, he would use the term 'man'. To call a young man a boy has always been an insult so they were very careful with those two words 'boy and man'. That was a distinction they drew from English because it's a distinction in their own culture that's very important. In Aboriginal language there was a boy or child, before initiation, and then a man. Whites use the term 'young fella' for a young man but Aboriginal would be 'man'.

Hansen also clarifies why it is difficult to determine the timing of any particular event based upon age, because Namarari did not ascribe numbers to age. Namarari (and other older men contacted for this study) did not specify chronological age; rather, they used terms such as 'bit bigger boy' or proffered an outstretched hand 'about this high' - as an approximation. Hansen, who arrived at Papunya in the mid 1960s, explains (referring here to Namarari as Mick):[181]

> Most Aboriginal people [from 1960s onwards] would not have used 'I'm 23 years old, he's 15 years old'. Nobody used any terminology like that

[180] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[181] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.

> when we first got there and even in later years, people just don't describe each other's ages like that. In those days right up to Mick's time people didn't use any reference to numbers for ages. They'd say 'I'm younger than he is or older than he is, I was about this high [demonstrating with raised hand] when he was a boy'. So they know how old they are in reference to other people but they don't know the English figures well enough to use them.

Namarari identified the location of his initiation (Untantiti, or Untandita, see Map Two), west of Hermannsburg (Ntaria) in his interview with Kean saying, '*You know that hill Yunurunu? This side of Ntari. It is a hill. That is where I became a man. I been young fella, at Untantiti.*[182] *It was there I became a man. Well I went. I left my mother at Haasts Bluff. And I went off for a long time.'* In the Batty interview Namarari is more forthcoming about the circumstances of his initiation.

Interview extract 6a

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, where he is made aware of his imminent initiation by the men's shouting before being grabbed[183]:

Namarari

Right. I was an older boy then (picks up stone and begins drawing on the floor). *The men took me to where? Alalpi. From Alalpi we went again* (pointing). *Other men went the short way. I was an older boy then. I was thinking, "What is this about?" Something. Then the Pitjapitja group shouted as they went along. Then I knew what was happening. They spoke to me and grabbed me* (demonstrates being grabbed by the wrist). *They took me to the bush* (looks at Batty). *I was living in the ceremonial bush camp now* (claps hands together). *I stayed there, then we went and descended into a valley. I tracked a perentie, "What's this, a perentie." I followed the track and saw it lying face down.* (pointing) *I went around it and speared it in the chest. After that I hit it and hit it. We picked it up and took it with us. They said to me, "Let's cook it now, so the other lot don't finish it up." We cooked it. It had lots of fat on it, mixed up with its flesh* (points to his neck and chest). *We ate and ate and finish. Then we went to Alalpi. We put our heels into rabbit burrows as we went, and we speared and speared rabbits, lots of rabbits. There is not that many there now. We took them and cooked and cooked them. At that time I did not go back to the main camp. We stayed at the young men's bush*

[182] Hansen transcribed this place-name as Intanti, whereas I hear it as *Untantiti.*

[183] According to the Hansen, when Namarari said he was 'grabbed' it indicated he was being taken for initiation. A nephew of Namarari told Hansen a brief story of his own initiation, saying 'they grabbed us to make us men' and 'after living in the bush for a long time we were revealed to the community again'. Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with Ken Hansen, in 'Pastor Murphy Robert's story', (Albrecht, 2002, p. 226).

camp. Later when our beards had grown, (pointing) *we got up and went to our mothers, and grandmothers. As long as we had no beards we stayed out bush, in the young men's camp. Only when you had stayed there and become a mature man could you come back into the main camp.*

(End of extract)

Namarari entered the ceremonial bush camp with other young men and received important cultural education. He establishes that after a considerable time had passed ('their beards had grown') he joined the main camp back at Alalbi as a *wati*. Namarari saw his mother again before going off 'for a long time'. At this time he was about 14-15 years of age on my calculation. Namarari illustrates the passing of time and certain durations through referencing physical growth (for example, beards or height), and recalls chronology based on events (for example, after Hermannsburg, after initiation). Without being able to specifically explain the reasons, it is apparent in his interview with Batty that Namarari gave a continuous mostly chronological account of the earlier parts of his life without prompting.

Namarari's cultural education into manhood had begun, overseen by senior men. Initiates form lasting bonds with the other individuals involved so it is reasonable to assume that Namarari had new important relationships with particular men that bound him irrevocably into lasting mutual responsibilities. The Pintupi form of accountability is exacting, because 'if any male reveals secrets of this cult to the uninitiated or desecrated it in some way, he must be killed. It does not belong to any particular group; no one can individually decide how to dispose of its secrets because it belongs to everybody' (Myers, 1976, p. 515). It is beyond the scope of this project to study the extent to which Pintupi men's traditional practices have been impacted by colonisation in the twentieth century.

Namarari says the place of initiation was near *Yunurunu*. I could not locate it on Strehlow's Central Australia Map or Bowman and Scherer's 1948 Map,[184] and it was unknown to Kimber, who has an extensive knowledge of Aboriginal sites.[185] However, the site Undandita is west of Hermannsburg and near Kulpitjarra (see Map Two, p. x), which Namarari identified at the location of his father's sorry business (in Ch. 1). It must have had some attractive characteristics (water is a reasonable assumption), for in 1940 '140 Pitjantjatjara people from the Peterman Ranges camped at Undandita, 40 miles west of Hermannsburg' (Rowse, 1998a, p. 88).

[184] Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, July 3, 2008.
[185] Dick Kimber, pers. comm. Alice Springs, November 22, 2007.

Namarari's constant mentions of travelling around the Haasts Bluff region, and there is more to come, brings to mind Myers' finding, where his older Pintupi informants at Yayayi (in the mid 1970s) reported to him time and again what drives young men:

> Young men said that they were "travelling men", that they couldn't settle down and they were too restless to settle down. [...] The widest range of travel that men described to me seemed to occur with regularity during their young adult years, when they were too young to marry. The goal in these years is to acquire ritual knowledge and experience, and this may require distant travel to take part in ceremonies (Myers, 1976, p. 313).

Conclusion

A corridor of engagement slowly developed as a consequence of local geography and the distribution of waterholes. This pathway linked Hermannsburg and Pintupi country via Haasts Bluff; people walked together back and forth. The main locations were (beginning at the western limit): Ilpilli and Putarti, Iranytji and Mt Liebig, Winparrku, Alalbi (at Haasts Bluff), Glen Helen and Hermannsburg. With the exception of the BAR expedition to Mt Liebig in 1932 – which took a more northerly route - the Mission staff and the Pintupi who congregated at Putarti or Iranytji had the trail much to themselves. A southerly route may have been used less frequently, beginning in the west at Putarti or Muruntji, linked to water places at Kungkayunti, Tarrawarra, Undandita and Kulpitjarra, possibly Areyonga, and thence Hermannsburg. At no time in the Kean and Batty interviews did Namarari report personal safety concerns in his travelling along those corridors.

The Pintupi people camping around the Haasts Bluff region appear to be active agents (they chose to remain there), influenced by Mission and government policy. Rowse's deduction is plausible, that the recipients of rations 'owed the donors something in return', which was to stay away from Alice Springs, listen to the evangelists and do some work (Rowse, 1998a, p. 81). It may be that the Pintupi at Haasts Bluff were beginning to conceive of a novel middle ground, where the Mission provided them with resources in return for their somewhat compliant presence, without the Pintupi conceding their autonomy to any significant degree. The Haasts Bluff area was a site of gradual cultural adaptation not radical change, and was characterised by accommodation. The development of compliance (if it was indeed a strategy) may be significant, for Namarari seems to have been a somewhat compliant person in his dealings with white authorities as an adult, rather than as an aggressive or withdrawn person.

The step-by-step process of engagement in the 1920s-1930s seemed to produce a degree of local harmony. The cross-cultural environment was dynamic,

made and remade by its changing participants and their adaptive behaviours. Namarari (as a child) was one of that region's first immigrant settlers and he carried his experiences and memories into new communities (usually called settlements or outstations) in the decades that followed. Rowse (2012, p. 183) asserts 'we can admit that Indigenous policy is a tradition of experimental interventions on Indigenous and non-Indigenous patterns of behaviour'. Each of the Western Desert communities of the 1930s to the 1960s (starting with Haasts Bluff) was, in my estimation, an experiment on the part of its participants, and the federal government's policies may be seen as a series of 'experimental interventions', all the way to *the Intervention* of 2007 ('The Northern Territory Emergency Response').

Throughout Namarari's interviews he hints at what I believe to be a considerable affection for the boy in his remembered childhood and an admiration for the trials he endured. It is clear that his initiation into manhood did not erase many memories or emotions of his boyhood. However, the most significant change in his life has now occurred, for he has become a man. From this point forward his life story is that of a *wati*.

Chapter 3

Making a way for himself, mid to late 1930s

For Namarari the beginnings of his education as a *wati* coincided with his commencement as a worker in the whitefella world. In addition to his ongoing cultural education, colonisation impelled Namarari to come to terms with unanticipated change and to 'make sense of his own place within it', which 'involved finding new meanings and new ways of acting' (Edmunds, 2013, p. 177). Mission policy emphasised that 'all able-bodied men should work for their living' and not receive rations. Namarari was classified as an able-bodied man who should therefore work.

The Northern Territory had been under the control of the state of South Australia until 1911. On January 1st that year control was ceded to the Commonwealth and that 'acquisition of responsibility' for the NT was the Commonwealth's 'entry into Aboriginal administration' (McGregor, 2011, p. xxiv), otherwise the realm of the individual states. As Canberra's focus on its responsibility for the distant natives of the Northern Territory grew, it turned more of its attention to local populations, such as the Pintupi at Haasts Bluff. Whilst the Mission's concern had been 'where will these people live?' the Commonwealth's concern became 'and what shall we do with them?' From the 1920s onwards, in the region to the west of Alice Springs, that question was part of 'the Aboriginal problem'. Ultimately, people could not remain isolated on a metaphorical island within but fenced off from the nation.[186] The Commonwealth's 'New Deal for Aborigines' announced in 1939, specified 'citizenship as the final objective' of Aboriginal policy (McGregor, 2011, p. 34), a move away from protection and segregation toward assimilation. The then Minister for the Interior, John McEwen, declared at the time:

> 'Aboriginal material needs' should be met; Aborigines should be trained for useful occupations and the settled life; they must be taught to recognise law and authority, and the rights of property. Religious training was required for 'stability of character to replace that which has been lost by the destruction of their ancient philosophy and moral code' (Gray, 2007, p.40).

Concurrently the cattle stations in the southwest region actively sought such men for stockwork. Hypothetically, Namarari had several options: return west

[186] Students of migration history might draw interesting parallels with contemporary Australia's illegal arrivals, the so-called 'boat people', and the Commonwealth's various responses.

to Pintupi country, move further east to Alice Springs, reside and work at the Hermannsburg Mission or on a cattle station, or remain at Haasts Bluff where regular paid work was unavailable. Realistically, the eastern part of Pintupi country was substantially devoid of people, potentially denying him ongoing cultural education. The government and the Mission were cooperating to prevent further drift to Alice Spring. Jobs at Hermannsburg typically went to its locals. Namarari did have a reason for remaining at Haasts Bluff: to support his aging mother.

This chapter opens with Namarari's descriptions of life at Haasts Bluff after his initiation and follows with his departure to Tempe Downs cattle station to the south. Namarari's recorded accounts (in 1989 and 1992) may be seen as a way of looking back on himself as an individual living in that fluid environment with a mix of Aboriginal and whitefella influences. He talks at length about being a stockman but says very little about his Pintupi cultural identity or his ceremonial activities. The chapter concludes with the early stages of the transition of Haasts Bluff into a more secure location for permanent Aboriginal (re)occupation, as the original Aranda and Luritja people were replaced (mostly) by the Pintupi from the west and the Ngalia (southern Warlpiri, from the north). As the Aranda remained the traditional owners in that region, it appears that the Pintupi were camping on someone else's land (legitimately[187]).

1 Becoming a stockman

Namarari and Watuma went travelling together in the Haasts Bluff area. In the Kean interview Namarari says they 'went off for a long time... to Tempe Downs, around Manyi, Ilyiltjarri, Watarrka'.

The place *Manyi* here may be a reference to Bowson's Hole station. In Pearce's (1988) account of Bowson's Hole, a waterhole with the Aboriginal name *Manjura* was near the homestead. Bowson's Hole was referred to by its Aboriginal place name *Manjura* until the early 1930s, and then briefly called Gosse Range Station before Bowson's Hole. *Watarrka* is Kings Canyon, the western extremity of Tempe Downs station and *Ilyiltjarri* is Middleton Ponds, a neighbouring cattle station. It is likely that Namarari visited or worked on a number of stations (including Middleton Ponds, Henbury and Idracowa) and travelled on horseback extensively,[188] thereby becoming familiar with a new range of generally well-

[187] Through the Honey Ant and Emu connecting mythological trails and gift-exchange (Amadio & Kimber, 1988, p. 62).
[188] Travel between Haasts Bluff, Areyonga and the stations would have been by foot, as stockmen could not take horses away from the station.

watered country with different topography, vegetation and colour, a contrast to his desert home.

Interview extract 1a

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, where he talks about food and his movements around the Haasts Bluff area prior to leaving his mother and walking to Tempe Downs, which was a long way, (he 'went and went and went and went'):

Namarari

We two drank honey.

Batty

What did you think? Was it good or bad?

Namarari

It was good. Watuma and I were there. Old Watuma. Tjungurrayi Watuma came in there. I drank many containers like that. Both of us used to drink it. He would say, "Wapirra! This is good for us." He said to me, "Wapirra! Let us drink this good stuff!" He drank that and finished it. Watuma said, "Wapirra! This is really food!" He said, "Let's drink it all up."[189] (points to stomach, laughing). *Pastor said to me, "What are you all drinking?" "No, we were just drinking jam." He said, "No. It is for spreading on food and eating"* (demonstrates spreading action). *We two didn't understand about that. We didn't know about flour damper. After that we went and went and went to* (pauses) *Tjarruwarra. We carried jam flour food and tea and sugar on our heads* (touches hand to hat). *We took it and then ate it at Tjarruwarra. He told us, "You all go and live over there!" We stayed there for a while during spring, then we continued to stay there until it was hot weather.*[190]

The men used to take me around with them. Then I finally left my mother, I been big boy (raises left hand high to indicate height). *Watuma and I went to Areyonga* (clicks fingers) *and then to Tempe Downs* (clicks fingers). *We went and*

[189] Hansen noted regards the recording: sound unclear here, probably Mick and Watuma were sick. Wapirra is a Warlpiri word meaning "father" according to Hansen.
[190] Hansen: Mick has used an unfamiliar word "yulyulypurringu" which I mistook for "yulyulparringu, 'evening'". At a guess from context yulyulpu may mean "spring" because the word following it instead of being "kulini-, 'thought/heard'" is probably "kulirri- 'hot weather'".

went and went and went (clicks fingers). *He said, we went to the whitefella stockman, Old Bryan.*

Whitefella stockman. Old Bryan[191] *Yes. He was our boss. Well he said, you told 'em "want to sit down stockman or not?" "No, we want to ride horses," we two said. Horses, you know, mules. Yes* (KH: Mick gave a hand sign for being thrown off, and laughed). *It threw Watuma off, to the ground. The whitefella put a saddle on the mule and said, "Go try him!" He gave us black trousers, black shirt, black hat.*

Batty

Flash.

Namarari

All flash.
(End of extract)

Namarari says he went to Areyonga, a gap in the ranges at the head of the long valley, making it a natural travelling through point for north-south movement to or from Tempe Downs. Coincidentally, the site Undandita is midway between Haasts Bluff and Areyonga and readily fits with the movement of Pitjantjatjarra men returning to their own country from a northerly trip to Haasts Bluff. Namarari and Watuma walked to Tempe Downs station and met the station manager Bryan Bowman, who gave them a job 'on the spot' and clothes. Their exchange seemed to constitute a job interview. Bowman supported Albrecht's policy of getting Aboriginal men to work: 'there were not enough men in the Tempe camp to work the station and the mustering camp was completed with boys (sic) from either Hermannsburg or Middleton Ponds' (Bowman, 1988, p. 26).

Namarari and Watuma were among the first, if not the very first Pintupi males to become Aboriginal stockmen.[192] The 1934 photograph (referred to in Ch. 2) at Iranytji of Pintupi boys with two donkeys prompts the question: did Namarari learn to ride a donkey *before* he went to Tempe Downs cattle station, as he reports it was Watuma who was thrown off a donkey, not himself. Namarari agrees with Batty that he looked 'flash' in his new outfit. It broadly means 'good appearance,

[191] Bryan Bowman was the Tempe Downs manager at the time.
[192] The chronology of events concerning initiation and traveling to Tempe downs appears to be different in the Kean and Batty interviews and I have not resolved this apparent discrepancy within the two interviews. He first went to Tempe Downs around 1937-38 on my calculation, supported in part by Bowman's presence there only until 1938, when he moved permanently to Glen Helen station.

impressive', and Bardon used it in the 1970s with the artists in relation to their paintings, telling them to 'make them look flash'.

It is unclear if someone secured Namarari's and Watuma's positions at Tempe Downs on their behalf. Its proximity to Hermannsburg and Haasts Bluff made it desirable, taking into account the numerous references in the Kean and Batty interviews to his mother being relatively nearby at Haasts Bluff. In his interviews Namarari does not mention his sister or her husband at Tempe Downs nor any relatives there by name. However, according to Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, a nephew of Namarari, his uncle went to Tempe Downs station for a particular reason, more to do with *walytja* than work itself.

Interview extract 1b

Extract from interview with Murphy Roberts:[193]

He was with his sister Ikunga, also called Maudie. She went to Tempe Downs and married a man there on the Tempe Downs side. He moved around that area working on the stations – Tempe, Henbury, Idracowa. She went there before my uncle, that's the reason he went there and so he went around Tempe, Henbury and Idracowa too.

(End of extract)

Roberts believes that Namarari went to work at Tempe Downs *because* his sister Ikunga was already there. The presence at Tempe Downs of a brother-in-law is relevant due to the importance of the brother-in-law relationship. Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa (a grandson of Namarari) and Norman Kelly (a resident at Mt Liebig) described Ikunga's first husband as a Luritja man, and said he was a brother of Old Bert Tjakamarra and was 'speared in the old days'.[194] Speculatively, it may be that Namarari's brother-in-law is the relative he refers to in a revenge killing anecdote: 'You know that old Bert? They speared his relative' (see App. 12).

Namarari specified that he went to Tempe Downs station after being at Hermannsburg and after living in the Haasts Bluff area. In *Mick and the Moon* the narrator states: 'He walked out of the desert as a young boy into Tempe Downs station southwest of Alice Springs and was there trained as a stockman'.[195] That concertinaed summary does not accurately reflect his journey. It is probable that conversations between the close friends Geoff Bardon and Namarari at Papunya in

[193] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, November 21, 2007, Alice Springs.
[194] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, joined by Norman Kelly, interview with author concerning Namarari's family tree, April 29, 2010, Alice Springs.
[195] Bardon G & J, Mick and the Moon, 1978.

the 1970s ranged far and wide, though Bardon did not speak Pintupi. I contend that Namarari's interviews with Kean and Batty, in Pintupi, provide a more reliable historical record.

2 Tales from Tempe

Namarari shared many anecdotes with Kean and Batty about his experiences as a stockman, rendered here as 'tales from Tempe'. He casts himself as a novice finding his way and making mistakes, for which he is mildly self-deprecating, whilst developing a range of new skills, for which he gives himself little credit. Namarari was not one to boast. He was given responsibilities as a more capable worker, perhaps a leader (he uses the word in English). The cattle station is the second environment (after Hermannsburg) where Namarari observed a wider range of activities of white society, though both environments were highly contrived and bore little resemblance, for example, to a typical Australian rural town or farming community at the time. White authorities closely managed both Mission and cattle stations, and the relevant superintendent or manager exercised considerable power in their domain, influencing how local Aboriginal people were treated.[196] Namarari's tone suggests he enjoyed the stockwork with no regret about the work itself or overt concerns about his experiences, including the extraordinary instructions from his boss regarding Aborigines who speared cattle (see below).

i) Loading the train and burning the cheque

Interview extract 2a
Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari:

Namarari

I took a lot of bullock to Finke. After going through Finke I took them to Horseshoe Bend here. A donkey was getting water. That donkey was going around (KH: at a pump and causing the water to come out of the well) *and getting the water. Olden time.*

Kean

[196] Tempe Downs station, for example, was the scene of shootings of Aboriginal people in the late 19th century. See Nettlebeck & Foster, 2007.

Like a well? The white man dug a well and put wood around in it.

Namarari

Yes well. I don't know how they did it. They put drum there.

Kean

And they wound it up with the donkey.

Namarari

Yes. They dug and dug the well putting the dirt in a heap xxx

Namarari

Ok then I and other stockmen who were men from Tempe crossed the sand hill. I was a young fella then. Following that. Do you know that Lamplata[197]*?*

Kean

Yes, Lamplata.

Namarari

Lamplata. We put them in the yard and then lay down. We were lying there and we heard a train. When it was daylight we put the bullocks in the truck (KH: train trucks) *and then they took them.*

Kean

To Port Augusta.

Namarari

Yes, to Port Augusta. After putting them in the trucks we went back again to Tempe.

[197] The pronunciation or meaning of this word is unclear.

Kean

Tempe Downs.

Namarari

Yes xxx whitefella came along behind us from Horseshoe Bend. After writing cheque he left it with me, for all of the stockmen. He gave me the cheque, and I was a silly bugger, I burned it in the fire.

Kean

Is that true?

Namarari

It is true.[198]

Kean

You did not know about cheques?

Namarari

Yes, I did not know about them. He said it was a large amount of money. After xxx burning that large amount of money. I did not know about money, I was ignorant of it.

(End of extract)

Interview extract 2b

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari:

Namarari

When it had become daylight, (claps hands together) *I was the first one to hold the donkey. I held the reins and mounted the donkey. The donkey was*

[198] Both men laugh a lot at this point in the interview.

splashing the soakage water around. Then it went into the cattle yard among the bullocks. Then I heard it coming. I thought, (claps hands together, pointing) *"There is a long train coming." Right when it was daylight they took one truck full of bullocks off, then another. Then he sent another one off with bullocks. That was all then, all the truck 'em finished all gone. He would put paper on each truck as it went train* (pointing) *After that the truck man wrote a cheque and gave it to him. Money cheque. Well later there was a cheques for me and Watumanya. The truck driver said to him, "I'll leave your cheque there hospital." Well I just went and saddled my horse and went. Then I went. I had heard about money. The whitefella beckoned to me and said, "This is a lot of money eh? Big money. Just your money, working." Working money. I looked at it, and thought, "What is he giving me? Money? No it's only money"* (laughs, looks at Batty). *I burnt it in the fire.* (KH: Swear!). *It was a lot of money. I was myall don't know money. I burnt it and then went off. Another followed us and said, "You two burnt a lot of money. That was a lot of money." The stockmen said the same to me, "That was a lot of money." We two burnt it.*

(End of extract)

Namarari refers to himself as a 'young man', indicating he had passed through initiation before working at the station. The label *myall* was a word used to describe 'bush blacks' ('full-blood Aborigines'). The location of the hospital is unknown (perhaps at Horseshoe Bend?)

Namarari extended his knowledge of the region through travel, including that droving trip further east to the railhead at Finke. His burning the money anecdote must have been something of a favourite for Namarari with its humour value – he had a self-deprecating light chuckle with Kean as he chided himself (a 'silly bugger') for tossing the cheque into the fire. Presumably that was the first time he was paid with a cheque, having been paid in rations thus far, and having learned that lesson perhaps kept future cheques for cashing at the Tempe Downs store or the Mission's store.

The station manager also remembered the issue of rations and money, indicating that Namarari may not always have received his due. Bowman's book (1988) indicates he kept detailed records at Tempe Downs, including the provision of weekly rations, which Rowse described as 'an essential feature of his method of management' (Rowse, 1998a, p. 58). The men were paid in rations, including:

> 25 lbs of flour, ½ tin of baking powder, ½ lb of tea, 10 lbs of sugar, 1 tin of jam, 6 sticks of I.X.L tobacco and two boxes of matches. If they wanted anything else they could ask for it and it was supplied if in stock. These items included .22 rifle and shotgun ammunition, Aspros, for which

there was an unlimited demand, clothes, shirts and trousers for the men, dresses and print dress lengths for the women (Bowman, 1988, pp. 73-4).

Bowman outlined an Aboriginal stockman's entitlements in the 1930s and all-but confirms that they did not receive their full entitlements in wages (apparently a consequence of too much paperwork rather than exploitation). In 1933 an amendment to the 1918 Aboriginals Ordinance required new 'standards of remuneration', such that no less than 5 shillings per week was due to Aboriginal employees, but an exemption was allowed to the employer who was 'maintaining dependents and relatives' (Rowse, 1998a, p. 57). It remains unknown if Namarari was due (or received) any unpaid wages as a stockman, as Bowman described the situation in the 1930s:

> In those days the official wage for them was ten shillings a week in cash and the station had to supply clothes and tucker and in the cases of married men, maintain their families. Half of the ten shillings per week was supposed to be paid into a Trust Fund controlled by the Protector of Aboriginals but this was very seldom done. In practice it wasn't feasible anyway given the office organization of the 1930's and would have involved a huge amount of paper work (Bowman, 1988, p. 17).

Namarari also recalled minute observations from that venture, such as the man putting a piece of paper on each (train) truck. Perhaps he was intrigued by these seemingly mundane activities, unless he was actively schooling himself in the habits of the white people who he was by now encountering regularly. It is reasonable to speculate that the young Namarari, as a stockman undertaking new tasks in an environment quite different to the camping expanses around Haasts Bluff, was observing people and nature closely in order to learn, just as he did in the desert as a child.

ii) Breaking in the brumbies

Interview extract 2c

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, picking up from his departure from Horseshoe Bend after delivering cattle to the railhead:

Namarari

Following that we went back to Tempe. Then at Tempe we got ready to go and get brumbies.

Kean

Wild horse.

Namarari

He had rope in the Toyota (JK: read as 'car'). *xxx There were tailing horse there. xxx The brumbies and the tailing horse joined together in the one mob, mix up.*

Kean

Inside the yard.

Namarari

It was not a yard, it was out on the flat plain. xxx Then we took them to Tempe Downs. We brake 'em in for a long time and then we got on them. They were buck jump around the place. Want to ride, yes. After break them in we got on them. A horse there was like a mule. I go on that one. xxx I shouted out xxx

Kean

You did not know about horses.

Namarari

I continued to stay on it. I had styrip iron, and boots, black trouser and a black shirt, and a black hat.

Kean

You were good.

Namarari

It bucked and bucked and bucked but it could not get me off. That mule was broken by me.

Kean

He was a cheeky bugger.

Namarari

Yes he was a cheeky bugger. He was a donkey friend. He was a donkey and a horse.

Kean

Donkey horse mix up. After you were a stockman where did you live?

Namarari

No, I said to him "I go now Areyonga." Well he did not give me any money, lest I should burn it. Because I did not know about money.

Kean

Yes you had burned a cheque.

Namarari

Yes, I burned a lot of money.
(End of extract)

Namarari talks about departing (permanently?) perhaps because Kean asked him 'where did you live after you were a stockman?' That prompted Namarari to talk about leaving the station and going to Areyonga.

Namarari again mentions his stockman's uniform. Like many men of his generation, Namarari wore a hat throughout his life and had one on throughout his interview with Batty, removing it occasionally to vigorously scratch his head or rub his hands across his face. When Dick Kimber met Namarari at Papunya around 1974 'he always wore a hat'.[199] Namarari's first western-style suit of clothes was that stockman's outfit ('black trous', black shirt, black hat'). It represented his first experience of work, which in turn was a new way (at that time) of providing for his

[199] Collation of author's interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.

family. Aboriginal men around him would have been similarly attired, making the outfits a usual part of their cross-cultural lifestyle. The wearing of clothes for work and settlement life became the norm, though some men never forgot their early days, illustrated decades later by Charlie McMahon. He often took groups of men 'out bush' in his vehicle, away from Papunya, where they would remove their trousers, sit in a circle on the ground and talk together for hours.[200]

Interview extract 2d

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, 1992, catching wild horses and learning to 'buck jump' a mule:

Namarari

Well we went and lay down at Tempe in the building, where the boss was. Then we got ready for the brumby, brumby. "We get brumby now" (claps hands together, pointing). *We then saddled our horses, and rode them to the brumbies. I went along the fence. "There are some brumbies! There they are standing around over there!" We started chasing them* (laughs, pointing, loud clap of hands together, quivering motion with right hand). *The whips cracked. Well the brumbies were going really fast now. I now saw the fires that the others had lit, they threw match into the bush. "The fire's over there the brumbies might come this way"* (demonstrating). *The ones who had lit it were standing around there. The brumbies came in amongst our horses. We after that we brought them back Tempe. After getting them the others were to break them in, and get on them. They break them in after putting rope around their necks* (demonstrating). *Then they get their testes after cutting them* (KH: castrate them). *What are they balls testes you know. They brand them. What was the brand, YTY. Yes the brand* (indicated it was put on left shoulder). *After brand them and getting their balls then they take them to the paddock* (pointing, wipes face and coughs).

I used to buck jump. I mounted a mule. It is bred from a horse. A Mule. He was looking sideways back at me. Well I put my hat down over the side of my face like this, (raises left hand to his face) *then I mounted. He tried to buck me off* (demonstrates with exaggerated up-down motions with right hand). *But he couldn't do it. Buck jump. It didn't go around, no. Then it almost sat down, still buck jump. Then it went from enclosure to enclosure in the yard network. I rode on it, and rode on it, and rode on it again. I quietened it by touching its face, make 'im quiet*

[200] Charlie McMahon (outstations worker at Papunya, late 1970s), interview with author, January 8, 2012, Sydney.

(demonstrating). *It would call out, 'heehaw, heehaw'. I would mount and ride on it and leave it in the yard. It was a high yard.*

(End of extract)

Namarari describes the rounding up and breaking-in of brumbies and even remembers the brand 'YTY'. Stations used brands to mark the animals and indicate ownership over them. It was hot, dusty, bloody work in an entirely man's world. Namarari's attempt to 'buck jump' the mule is insightful. The animal was trying to throw him off but he persisted and instead of using force (such as a stockwhip) to make it submit, he says he 'touched its face' to quieten it down, a tactic of gentle persuasion and a mark of patience. Perhaps he had a manner that caught the attention of the white bosses who singled him out (according to Namarari anyway) to be a leader when the men were out mustering for weeks on end (finding the wandering cattle and bringing the herds into a collection point).

Interview extract 2e

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari:

Right, then he said to me like this, "You are leader you should look after the cattle at night by going around them, keeping the bullock in the centre. Look after them at night!" I used to have a watch when I went round the mob of cattle (looks down at left wrist). *I used to keep them together continually during the night, while others slept. Their saddles were left all round the camp. I would go on keeping them together, and then I would see it was time to finish my watch, time for me to sleep. Right* (looks at his wrist). *Well I would go to another stockman, "It's your turn!" I used to light a match to see the watch* (demonstrates lighting a match to see his watch). *We would keep the cattle from fleeing. So that one would not get away and another follow. I went round the mob which was in the middle. I would go round continually like that bullock watch 'im* (gesturing around and around with his hand).

(End of extract)

His anecdotes begin to confirm that he both understands instructions and knows the consequences of different actions. For example, 'the cattle will flee' if one gets away from the group at night. He reports using new tools such as the watch, which he could see by lighting a match at night when it was 'his turn or another's' to look after the cattle. He was learning to 'read a watch', at least in that situation, though he was not known to wear one later in life. Namarari describes

the activities he was engaged in without expressing how he felt or what he thought about his life in those circumstances, a feature of his storytelling style. He appears to have adopted most new work practices as though they were quite straightforward, suggesting that he was an able learner.

iii) A startling instruction

Interview extract 2f

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, 1992:

Namarari

Well we two got to be stockmen. That boss said to me, "Alright you go to the bullocks now and muster them!" That's what the boss said. It was mustering time (claps hands together). *While I was mustering his bullocks, another said, "Eh? What's wrong with this bullock?"* (indicates a spear sticking out of its side). *"These ones have been speared by many Aborigines, with spears."*

Batty

Bullock?

Namarari

Bullock. A number of Aborigines had been spearing them. We were sorry for the bullocks, as they lay all around the place with spears sticking out of them, (demonstrates with left hand) *there was a whole lot of them. The whitefella Old Bryan said, "Is it alright for me to come and see 'em bullock?" They were there with spears sticking up out of them spear. Then someone said, "It is a revenge party who has speared them, maybe it was relatives of ours. We don't know." He got up and was eating in the middle of the yard. He*[201] *said to me, "If you see any bloke shoot 'em men".*

Batty

Shoot Aborigines?

[201] The identity of this whitefella is unclear.

Namarari

All of us had revolvers here (points to belt with right hand). *Watuma had a revolver as well.*

Batty

Watuma as well?

Namarari

Yes. He put a revolver like this. That whitefella said, "If you see Aborigines eating bullock meat, shoot them!" (claps hands together). *Right, we stockmen went out, while the whitefella cook stayed in camp. Where was that? Tjingkanyi. It was Watarrka before that house. They have put those houses there only lately, at Tjingkanyi. There is a big city you know there at Watarrka now, it's a big place.*

That whitefella was sitting there in the house (claps hands together). *The door started to open. The whitefella cracked his stock whip* (demonstrates). *The Aborigine was frightened off. We were mustering cattle* (hand actions). *That whitefella shot some Aborigines who had been spearing and eating bullocks many times* (pointing). *It was Pitjapitja people who used to do the spearing.*[202] *They all became frightened and fled. That whitefella used to burn the bodies, at the cave. He showed whole lot* (KH: not to go spearing his cattle).

(End of extract)

The location at or near Watarrka suggests the cattle could have belonged to either Tempe Downs or Bowson's Hole station. Even though official policy was to arrest the alleged offenders, pockets of the frontier[203] still functioned as a space for some men to 'write their own rules'. A premeditated spate of murders had occurred in that area, probably involving Bowsons Hole's manager McNamara, who according to Bowman 'had his own ideas of dealing with the problem, which today would have been called genocide. He masterminded a massacre of some of the

[202] Hansen: "Pitjapitja" was Mick's name for those who did the spearing, it was also used by other Luritja speakers for "Pitjantjatjarra" people.
[203] Namarari's tale suggests that the potential for violence against Aborigines persisted into the mid-late 1930s.

worst offenders – six according to him (Bowman, 1988, p. 36). Had an unreported or uninvestigated massacre been committed in that region, possibly in the 1920s?[204]

This story is both enlightening and disturbing. Laws had been in place since the 1890s stating that cattle killers be arrested and charged, not shot. Indiscriminate shooting was itself a crime and Namarari was being called upon to commit a crime – potentially incitement to murder. Namarari seems to express no distress in his retelling of the order that was given to him: 'shoot the blacks if you see them eating bullock'. Perhaps the situation demonstrated to Namarari where white priorities lay; firstly, that a bullock's life was more valuable than any Aboriginal man; and secondly, follow your boss's orders. In any event, he expressed a little sadness for the lifeless speared bullocks. This tale is another example of many where the (missed) opportunity to revisit Namarari and ask him in detail about his reactions might have provided more understanding about complex situations from his perspective, including his perceptions of the power wielded by white bosses.

What might have eventuated had Namarari followed those instructions and shot supposed offenders is of course mere speculation. Whatever the case, Namarari may have become watchful about his own behaviour, 'keeping his wits about him' in the vernacular. Namarari's initial encounters with whites at Ilpilli, Putarti and Mt Liebig appear to be demonstrably different to his experiences as a stockman a few years later, where white men on occasion overtly exercised their power. He was also possibly aware of a separate event during his childhood, the Coniston massacre in 1928 to the northwest of Alice Springs, itself a chilling illustration of violent white reprisal. It is tempting to conclude that Namarari became a close observer of whitefella behaviour, a proposition that is logical on three grounds: to ensure his own physical well-being in white company, to learn new work skills to support his family, and to enhance his growing capacity to inform relatives camped at Haasts Bluff about their collective novel situation. It is tempting to speculate that Namarari may have found whitefellas to be unpredictable. After all, given the behavioural dictates within the kinship system, by what means could he assess how individuals outside that system could be expected to behave?

By around this time – the late 1930s to early 1940s – Namarari was an experienced stockman. In addition to cattle station work, he collected dingo scalps or kangaroo skins and possibly made curios (working as an 'able-bodied man'). Namarari could get rations or cash in exchange for dingo scalps, animal skins and

[204] Kimber also reports that MacNamara 'shot people on the Finke River' (Amadio & Kimber,1988, p. 59).

perhaps wooden artefacts. The first two in particular possibly required an increasing amount of travel as areas nearer to Haasts Bluff were intensively hunted.

It is unclear why Namarari left Tempe Downs. The time of his departure was perhaps around the late 1930s to early 1940s. He may have gone back and forth over a number of seasons for mustering times, which required additional labour. The many references made by Namarari to his mother being at Haasts Bluff suggest he felt pulled in that direction, as he did not want to be away from her for too long. It does not seem that Namarari continued working as a stockman through the 1940s and it is most unlikely that stockwork became a more or less permanent job for him. However, it was his introduction to the world of work in a cross-cultural zone that had white bosses and low-paid black workers at its core. Namarari does not report any dissatisfaction with being a stockman. Nor does he make mention of his sister at Tempe Downs, which seems unusual if part of the reason for going there was to see or be with her.

Namarari had spent a number of years in and around Hermannsburg, Haasts Bluff and Tempe Downs. Along the way he developed language skills, a prerequisite for living among different language groups, for according to Hansen:

> A lot of people at Tempe Downs would have been Pitjantjatjarra or Aranda so Namarari would have started picking up those languages and that was reinforced at Haasts Bluff. Mick would have used Aranda, Pitjantjatjarra, probably Warlpiri, Loritja and Pintupi as well. Aranda may have been his main form of communication at Tempe Downs. At Haasts Bluff the people who had authority and had communication with the whites and the mission spoke Aranda so they were regarded as the leaders, the group of leaders.[205]

On Hansen's analysis, Namarari maintained his Pintupi language and acquired aspects of other Aboriginal languages plus some words in English during the 1930s and 1940s. The familiarity with the Aranda language in particular may have been a channel to gain insights into 'how the new world worked' in the Tempe and Haasts Bluff region because of its local usage. If Namarari remained affiliated with the Aranda-speaking leaders and senior Pintupi men his need to learn English was reduced. This meant he would be reliant on intermediaries to speak on his behalf to white authorities, though the degree of face-to-face contact in the 1940s remains unclear. Aboriginal people such as Namarari also used a significant amount of sign language between themselves, obviating the need for the spoken word.

Interview extract 2g

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari:

[205] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.

Alright, alright (claps hands together). *I was thinking for a long time, "Maybe I'll go"* (KH: back to my people), (points, claps hands together). *We two left the horses and saddles and went. We left the saddles and bridles and went. We went for good. I was an older boy at that time, we two were older boys. After that we went and stayed with the men. I said to the men,* (claps hands together) *"I'll go now back to Haasts Bluff"* (clicking fingers a lot). *They said, "OK! Good! Yes!" I went then and slept at Ngaatjarri. I ate rabbit*[206] *there* (quivering right hand action). *I cooked and ate those rabbits. We ate and ate and ate. Then we went. You know that black food, yawalyurru? I was eating that. I sieved and sieved it and ate it, with my mother at Tjukal. My mother saw that I had grown tall and she cried for me. I had become mature at Tempe. All that time that woman.*[207]

(End of extract)

Again Namarari refers to Watuma and himself as 'older boys', which continues to muddy the chronological waters, adding he was 'mature' and had 'grown tall', terms more appropriate to an adult's development than a child's. He joined his mother at the place Tjukal (location unknown) with the change in him so noticeable that his mother 'cried for him'. It is apparent that he remembered her fondly and held considerable affection for her. It may be that he was the only one of her children still in contact with her after she relocated to Haasts Bluff.

Namarari's cultural education continued along with hunting to provide for himself and his family, as labouring for cash and the exchange of cash for goods became a new and permanent part of his life. It is readily conceivable that small groups of able-bodied men hunting to the west of Haasts Bluff could have made contact with Pintupi family groups from further west. In fact, contact with relatives and inspection of water places were likely motivations additional to hunting for animal skins to trade. Thus, small groups of men going west on short hunting trips fulfilled a mix of objectives.

Interview extract 2h

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, talking about work after leaving Tempe Downs:

[206] Rabbits and cats introduced by settlers populated CA and contributed to the destruction of many local species. (see Amadio & Kimber, 1988, pp. 56-58)

[207] According to Hansen's translation at this abrupt point Namarari's mother had been 'on her own, no other marriage partner', which does not equate with her being a wife of Mintumintun.

Namarari

Right, I was living at Areyonga before there were any houses there. When there were no houses there.

Kean

They were living in shelters.

Namarari

Yes, xxx they were living at Hermannsburg. I went to my mother at Haasts Bluff. I stayed there for a while and got some work there. After getting a job I came back to Areyonga, to dig for stone. I was working there at the stone (KH: quarry). *Have you seen the place where we were digging? It is this direction from there.*

Kean

Haasts Bluff side?

Namarari

No, Areyonga.

Kean

I don't know about Areyonga, I have not seen it. Oh. You made a road there?

Namarari

I made a road there. That was when there were no houses there. I made a road there first. After making it I left there and went from there to Haasts Bluff. I intended to stay there for a long time, because my mother was worrying about me.

(End of extract)

3 Haasts Bluff in transition

The Haasts Bluff area was adjacent to The South West Reserve, established in 1920 and extended in the late 1920s to cover an area of 12,000 square miles (see Long, 1989). It was extended in March 1933 to include the Kintore and Ehrenberg ranges, but not extended eastward to include Haasts Bluff itself because it was held under lease and grazing licenses (Long, 1989, p. 21). The Reserve could not be used for grazing stock; the government's aim being to provide an area to hold Aboriginal people 'in' and keep white people 'out', reflecting the early twentieth century government policy of protection and control through separation.[208] However, the lease and grazing license approved for Haasts Bluff made it the subject of another contested space in the 1930s, arising directly from the Pintupi occupation. The resolution of that issue casts Albrecht as a champion of sorts for the Pintupi as he was determined to draw the Commonwealth into his preferred resolution of the issue.

The co-creators of the Haasts Bluff camping place were the emigrating Aboriginal people from the west and north, local Aranda leaders (now living at the Mission) and Albrecht's Mission. The Haasts Bluff area was traditional Aranda country so they exercised authority over who could reside there. Albrecht by now had considerable experience working with Aboriginal people, attaching social welfare to his main objective of promoting the gospel. The incoming Pintupi favoured proximity to their country and continuing access to the ration foods. Albrecht was determined to prevent them becoming permanent residents of Hermannsburg, a mainly Aranda and a comparatively sophisticated settlement. Though they could have returned to the west with a few days of walking, the Pintupi chose to remain and their numbers slowly rose.

Albrecht first tried to get the Haasts Bluff area, already approved as a cattle lease, set aside as a reserve for Aboriginal people in 1935 by directly approaching the Commonwealth's Minister for the Interior (Henson, 1994, p. 89). Albrecht insisted 'that cattle and Natives could never exist on the one Run, and this would mean the virtual end of at least 300 people' (Leske, 1977, p. 54). Albrecht persisted. He wrote letters of protest to the Commonwealth's Minister of the

[208] 'The Commonwealth created the position of Chief Protector of Aboriginals following the practice adopted by the States. The Chief Protector was empowered to assume the care, custody or control of any Aboriginal or half-caste if, in his opinion, it was necessary or desirable in the interests of that person for this to be done. These powers derived from the Aboriginals Ordinance 1911, the Commonwealth's first legislation dealing with Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory, which remained in place until 1957. In 1918 the Aboriginals Ordinance was amended to extend the authority of the Chief Protector still further. From birth to death Aboriginal women were under his direct control, unless they were married to or living with a husband substantially of European origin. All police officers were appointed as Protectors in order to assist the Chief Protector. www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/nt-guide/chapter8/index.html Viewed August 29, 2011.

Interior in Canberra, the Administrator in Darwin, the FRM's Board Chairman, and some well-known friends. One friend in Adelaide, Dr Duguid had visited Hermannsburg (in 1933 and 1936) supported by the Aboriginal Friends Association in Adelaide. Duguid also wrote to the Commonwealth Minister, threatening to 'go to London if nothing was done', and so the Minister flew to Adelaide to meet him.

Duguid had taken many photographs of Aboriginal people on his 1936 visit and it is quite likely that Namarari's relatives are among them. Duguid was ready for the Minister's arrival with his images. Duguid said words to the effect of 'you are going to kill these people.'[209] His intervention resulted in 'a telegram by the Minister to Darwin, cancelling all grazing licenses in the Haasts Bluff area, and the further direction that no more grazing licenses were to be granted without his special permission' (Leske, 1977, p. 54). Albrecht claims that Strehlow was also a significant figure in that decision (Leske, 1977, p. 54), following his appointment in 1936 as the Patrol Officer by the Commonwealth for CA. The Haasts Bluff area was then set aside exclusively for Aboriginal usage and the westerly progression of cattle station leases was halted (Amadio & Kimber, 1988, p. 63). It is arguable that the Pintupi occupation was the tipping point and Namarari, as one of many, had made a little bit of history. The area was formally transferred to the traditional owners under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act of 1976 (Batty, 2007, p. 24).

Conclusion

Namarari has provided numerous examples of his participation in new activities, reflecting his active involvement. From the mid 1930s he worked as a stockman and a labourer, handled animals and used new tools, received and spent money to purchase goods, followed a (non-Aboriginal) boss's instructions, used domestic paraphernalia such as kitchen utensils and attended some religious activity (for example, listening to the Aranda evangelists). His descriptions sound matter of fact, as though such things were more usual than unusual, as though that was what was expected of him in those circumstances. (Speculatively, some senior man may have told him to 'go and be a stockman'.) He learned aspects of other Aboriginal and English languages, and through participation saw more of the local non-Aboriginal world. He survived the transition into the cross-cultural milieu, having survived what seems to have been a number of challenges during his childhood in the desert. What remains much less visible is his participation in

[209] Duguid advised Albrecht on February 24, 1937 by letter of his meeting with the Minister. SA Museum AA662-25-7.

Pintupi cultural education. It appears that the Haasts Bluff Aboriginal community was stabilising and became Namarari's home, a consequence of camping rather than inheritance but nonetheless a negotiated arrangement. Haasts Bluff appears to operate as a quasi-protected enclave, another Hermannsburg without the buildings. It was at Haasts Bluff in 1942 that Namarari's name (as an adult) first appears on a formal record (see following chapter).

Chapter 4

The rise and fall of a settlement, the 1940s-50s

Namarari lived at Haasts Bluff through the 1940s and 1950s, a time that might be called 'the rise and fall of a settlement'. His coming in narrative gives way to one of settling in, though each of these terms reflects a mainstream perspective ('coming in' to meet 'civilising influences'). This period of Namarari's life story continues to be fragmentary so the biographical focus on one individual is somewhat thwarted. He said considerably more about his life as a stockman than his involvements at Haasts Bluff resident. It becomes increasingly difficult to ground the chronology upon Namarari's commentary, so additional sources are used to fill in some of the gaps, including recorded lists which at least confirm Namarari's presence at given locations. I introduce contemporaries of Namarari into the narrative, adding their recollections of 'Haasts Bluff days' and Pintupi mobility. I begin to argue that a cross-cultural persona emerged in Namarari's make-up as part of his adaptation to the new environment.

This chapter opens with an outline of the development of a community from a mostly vacant area into the eponymous functioning settlement. Brief details follow regarding Namarari's first marriage (which he did not mention in his Kean and Batty interviews). Even though information about that marriage is negligible, it is important because Namarari took on a new responsibility as a husband and as the father to his wife's two children (from her previous marriage).[210] The coming in narrative of the Pintupi continues through examples of two of Namarari's relatives and a glimpse of their subsequent returns into the west. Life at Haasts Bluff seems to centre on illness and loss before more changes significantly reduced the scale of the settlement. Namarari was, I believe, a witness to Haasts Bluff's transition from passing-through place to camping place to ration depot to mission and government-sponsored settlement. If someone had asked him for that story he may well have told it.

1 Haasts Bluff: from camping place to settlement

The Haasts Bluff area was a passing-through point in the early 1930s when Namarari began living there as a boy. By the late 1930s it was a collection of

[210] *The eldest of the two, Melva Nungurrayi (b c1934), was the mother of Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa (b1951), an important participant in this study.*

camps (concentrated at Alalpi) as an outstation (but without buildings) of the Mission. In the early 1940s the Mission built a sturdy rations shed there in support of the nascent cross-cultural community of semi-permanent Aboriginal residents and a small but growing number of whites. During the 1950s it developed into a managed settlement with a variety of services provided by the Mission and the government and a mix of personnel, some basic work activities and a relatively sedentary though mobile Aboriginal population.

Pintupi people, usually in small groups, continued to walk in from the west in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s to Haasts Bluff and in the 1960s to Papunya.[211] It is difficult to determine if Haasts Bluff was Namarari's 'home' in the manner that Baker described in his study at Borroloola: 'A turning point in each [Aboriginal] person's life came when that person came to regard Borroloola and not the bush as home' (Baker, 1996, p. 138). A key difference for Namarari was that when he first arrived at Hermannsburg and Alalpi there were no Pintupi relatives there to greet him or help with orientation. Namarari and the first migrating families discovered their own way, step-by-step. This begs the question: did Namarari (as an adult) become a leader or an adviser, someone who could subsequently show new arrivals the way or offer them advice? Given some descriptions in his interviews, that seems to be the case. If so, it may explain why many individuals observed him to be a helpful and friendly person as an adult (in the 1970s-1980s) – a possible product of his empathy with the plight of newcomers walking in from the west.

Aborigines who relocated from their traditional country to Haasts Bluff remained there, more or less permanently, during the 1940s and into the 1950s. In a symbiotic process their very presence made the development of a new settlement more likely, and as resources were provided at Haasts Bluff, increasing numbers of people were inclined to remain there. The Mission and the government were the main external resource-providers, whilst hunting and food gathering continued locally. As late as 1957 at Haasts Bluff 'the Arrernte, Ngalia, Pintupi and Pitjantjatjara residents remained decentralised, living in a large number of camps scattered around the reserve (Rowse, 1998a, p. 161). At the Lutheran's church dedication service led by Reverend Pech on Sunday September 25, 1949 there were 'forty-five whites in attendance and four hundred natives from all around', and the service was followed by 'a community dinner and supper and the next day sports were held for the natives' (Knie, 2004, pp. 160-163).

[211] Marlene Nampitjinpa, now a Kintore resident, shared her stories of 'walking to Papunya with her family from Kiwirrkura area in the 1960s', and 'seeing Namarari at Papunya'. Interview with author, August 9, 2011, Kintore. Also, a previously uncontacted Pintupi family group was 'found' near Kiwirrkura in 1984.

Namarari had to balance familiar *walytja* demands and unfamiliar whitefella impositions by learning to do new things, such as paid work. By the late 1940s Namarari had spent more time in the Haasts Bluff/Tempe Downs area as a young man than he did around Marnpi and Ilpilli as a child. Namarari was observed (in the late 1970s) to be a competent and enthusiastic gardener, so perhaps he was introduced to gardening at Haasts Bluff in the 1940s-50s. Namarari does not mention doing stockwork at Haasts Bluff, though he talks about doing other jobs. His grandson Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa said Namarari did not work as a stockman at Haasts Bluff, only 'when he was single he was working as stockman, long time ago'.[212] Aboriginal people at Haasts Bluff were 'building new alliances' according to Long,[213] implying a degree of proactivity rather than casual passivity.

In the mid 1950s Haasts Bluff boasted a range of facilities:[214] a hospital, a cemetery, a row of one-room tin huts, the Mission store and a rations store, a meat safe and an ice freezer, and roads and fences. The Mission house was built in 1947 and later the Lutheran church. There was a big shade for the school but no building, a garden, a bore and the Manager's house built by the government in 1954 after it took control of Haasts Bluff and appointed a Superintendent. Isolation made a virtue of self-sufficiency. Most of Haasts Bluff's population lived in their *wurlies*.[215] The Superintendent's task at Haasts Bluff[216] was to 'think up jobs' for people to do for example - building fences, making roads, tending the garden and the cattle project. In the late 1950s Papunya's construction utilised some Aboriginal labour, 'constructing houses for staff, the school, the hospital, offices and so on'. Records of payments to workers were kept but 'probably not archived', thus whilst Namarari most likely worked in a variety of jobs no records survived to detail such activities. A 'good weekly wage' was the equivalent of $2 plus food provisions - another example of 'rations and cash' as payments for Aboriginal labour. At lunchtime every weekday Long organised for 'a big stew' using local meat and added greens from the vegetable garden. Thus, many people had one daily meal provided, an early example of 'communal dining' (see Rowse, 1998a). Long also appointed Obed Raggett to the position of 'salaried ganger' to look after the store and distribute the rations, for which people lined up. Raggett knew the people and 'virtually ran the community as the white staff didn't know the people'. Namarari undoubtedly saw Raggett perform an important intermediary's role locally, just as Titus had done in the 1930s at the ration depots further west.

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[212] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, interview with author, July 29, 2011, Mt Liebig.
[213] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.
[214] This description was provided by Jeremy Long. (Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.)
[215] A quick-to-construct shade shelter or *walytja* (Hansen, 2011, p. 31 (illustration) and p. 97).
[216] This description was provided by Jeremy Long based on his time as Superintendent. (Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.)

(Raggett's work as a skilled intermediary continued at Papunya alongside Geoffrey Bardon in the formative phase of the painting movement). Long's observation that Raggett 'ran the community' because the white staff did not know the local people is a particularly telling comment.[217]

2 Namarari's first marriage

Namarari's nephew, Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, confirmed Namarari's marriage. Murphy said 'His first wife [Wingulya Nakamarra][218] was there at Haasts Bluff',[219] they met there when she already had two children, Melva and Oswald, by a previous (now absent) husband. He added that he 'grew up with Melva at Haasts Bluff, she was my cousin, she passed away at Papunya and Oswald grew up at Haasts Bluff, no children, he passed away at Papunya'.[220] Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa, Namarari's granddaughter, shed some light on Wingulya Nakamarra's origins. Melva Nungurrayi (Wingulya's daughter) told Fabrianne that her grandfather's first wife 'arrived from the west', and she confirmed that 'Melva's mother's country is from west of Kintore'.[221] Namarari was not asked about and did not speak about his first marriage in the Kean and Batty interviews.

The distribution of rations required the Mission to maintain lists in the 1940s, in part because it received a per capita subsidy from the government, an arrangement that suited both parties. The Mission had constant cash flow problems and the government had no local service delivery capacity through the 1930s and 1940s (that changed when the government took control of the Haasts Bluff settlement in 1954). Patrol Officer Strehlow prepared lists of Aboriginal people who utilised the ration depots in the 1940s that show the presence of Namarari and a woman, Wingulya Nakamarra.

The rations list at Haasts Bluff for late 1941 included a woman and two children:[222] *Wingula from Walukiri*[223]*, west of Walunguru, 32 years, female; girl away at Glen Helen*[224]*; boy Kamatu from Takalbita south west of Ajantji 5 years.* Wingula's presence indicates that Pintupi people from the west of Kintore

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[217] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.
[218] The Nakamarra subsection is the culturally appropriate marriage choice for a Tjapaltjarri man: 'According to the subsection system, members of a category should obtain their spouses from the specific category with which they are paired as potential spouses' (Myers, 1991, p.185).
[219] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, Alice Springs, Nov 21, 2007. Murphy also confirmed the pronunciation of her name as 'Win-gool-ya'. It appears in written records as 'Wingula' and later as 'Wenjilla'.
[220] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, Alice Springs, Nov 21, 2007.
[221] Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa, interview with author, Alice Springs, November 19, 2008.
[222] April 18, 1941, list at *Ngankeritara; total = 84 persons*. In Strehlow Research Centre, PD IV (b) 1941-1942. CT ex FD 13, p115-118.
[223] The location of the site *Walukiri* is unknown.
[224] This is most likely Melva Nungurrayi, born about 1934.

(*Walunguru)* were coming in to Haasts Bluff in the late 1930s/early 1940s. Wingulya Nakamarra does not appear in Tindale's 1932 list of people at Mt Liebig. If Oswald's birthplace is the water place Talipata (just south-west of Iranytji), then Wingulya perhaps came in after 1932 and was there in about 1936 when the Mission was still supplying ration foods in that area.

One year later Strehlow's *List of Natives Living at Haasts Bluff October 1942* reports Namarari at that location.[225] Namarari is listed in the 'Men' section as 'Ngamarari 1' along with 32 men who were 'supporting themselves by collecting dingo scalps, kangaroo skins, curios, etc.'[226] They are separate from the men on the 'entitled to Government support because of old age and disability' list, which includes the Pintupi men, Kamutu and Muruntu. Women, together with children over nine years, are also listed, including 'Wingula 2 children'. Namarari 's appearance on Strehlow's 1942 list suggests one of two likely possibilities. He had returned permanently from Tempe Downs after being a stockman for some years or he was spending some time at Haasts Bluff before returning to stock work or seasonal mustering. In 1942 Namarari was about nineteen years old on my calculations. Kamatu (Mintunmintun) was Namarari's father and his mother's (Meijenu) husband since about 1932.

It is not known when Namarari and Wingulya Nakamarra were married.[227] If the marriage was in the mid-late 1940s, Namarari was twenty-two to twenty-seven years or so and not much younger than Wingulya (thirty-two years old according to the 1941 list). The marriage gave Namarari new familial connections and immediate responsibility for two children. Oswald's Aboriginal name was Kamatu, of interest because it is also one of Mintunmintun's Aboriginal names and raises the possibility that Wingulya had a relationship with Mintunmintun. If that was the case it might explain why Wingulya was 'given' to Namarari as his wife. In any event it ensured she and her children had someone to look after them, thereby giving Namarari more than one reason to hunt and work, for he is not only caring for himself and his aging mother anymore.

3 Into the mix: new arrivals from many directions

Two of Namarari's classificatory brothers are subjects of this section: Benny Tjapaltjarri and Hilary Tjapaltjarri. The story of Mick and Benny's arrival

[225] 'List of Natives Living at Haasts Bluff' October 1942, Strehlow research Centre, Alice Springs.
[226] There is also a 'Ngamarari 2' on Strehlow's 1942 list, who Long ascertained was 'a younger man known as 'Fat Ngamarari' in 1957'. (Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17 2007, Sydney.)
[227] Namarari did not mention his marriage with Wingulya Nakamarra to Kean and Batty, a reminder that single interviews, whether in first language or otherwise, do not cover all aspects of a person's life.

from the desert features in *Benny and the Dreamers*.[228] The film's narrator states: 'Benny and Mick first met whitefellas at the Putarti Rockhole in the 1930s, and later, Benny and Mick followed the camels into Hermannsburg in the 1930s'. I believe there are inconsistencies that are usefully explored through Namarari's testimony. Note that Namarari identifies Benny as his younger brother.

Interview extract 3a

Extract from Batty's video interview with Namarari, referring to living at Haasts Bluff, regarding Benny Tjapaltjarri's arrival from the west:

Namarari

We kept on getting rations and then I saw someone, "Eh? This is my younger brother who is coming, naked[229]*"* (pointing). *It was doctor Benny. Yes he came in later to Haasts Bluff. I looked, "This is my younger brother who has come." Benny. There were many who came at that time. They didn't know* (KH: about our new living situation). *He came first and ate some flour food. He ate a bit of it and threw the rest away. I told him about jam. I said, "No!* (KH: Don't throw it down) *this is food flour for eating. We make damper like the whitefella, it is for eating. This is jam"* (looks at Batty, laughs). *The honey* (placing hand up to mouth indicating that he drank it). *My younger brother drank it. It was honey jam. I said to him, "No, this is for spreading on damper food." I used to drink it as well. I was hungry* (looks at Batty).

(End of extract)

The Papunya Tula Artists bio notes for Benny state he was born 'early 1930s at Tuwiru west of Kintore'. On that basis there was a possible nine-year age gap between Namarari (born c1923) and Benny. Batty considers that Benny 'appeared younger' than Namarari, and thought there could be an 'eight to ten year' gap in their ages.[230] Namarari stated he was at Haasts Bluff before Benny came in. Since it is unlikely that Namarari and Benny were together in 1932 at Putarti, they did not travel together to Hermannsburg at that time. Namarari described going to Hermannsburg though the same cannot be said for Benny as he may have only initially gone as far as Haasts Bluff, which also had buildings by the

[228] At times Benny responds to Hansen's questions and addresses him as 'brother-in-law'. In oral history terms, Hansen is Benny's audience, asking questions and listening as the ever-garrulous Benny enthusiastically obliges. Benny is addressing Hansen according to their classificatory relationship. Some white people were assigned 'skin names' by Aboriginal people, a point taken up in later chapters.

[229] Hansen translated this word as 'Ikiri'.

[230] Philip Batty pers. comm. April 30, 2012.

mid to late 1940s. In *Benny and the Dreamers*, Benny describes smoke coming out of the chimneys of buildings ('very suspicious'). It is more likely that Benny first came to Haasts Bluff in the mid-late 1940s, at the age of thirteen to seventeen years. In the late 1940s Watuma Tjungurrayi undertook camel trips far out west to 'bring back his people' and Kimber believes that Benny came to Haasts Bluff on one such trip. Some people, including Benny, also returned to the west with items from Haasts Bluff (Kimber 1988, p. 66).

It may be possible that Watuma also played a role in bringing in another child, Hilary Tjapaltjarri. Hilary Tjapaltjarri (born c1940) walked with his family into Haasts Bluff as a boy, probably in the late 1940s or early 1950s. Hilary's account of contact includes the man Tjungurrayi, who had come out from Haasts Bluff 'for his father'. In 1948 Charlie Watuma Tjungurrayi made a trip out to Kintore on camels to 'bring relatives in' and Wili rockhole is a little east of Kintore. Hilary's storytelling has features that mirror Namarari's style: posing questions to himself, repetition, and restating remembered dialogue.

Interview extract 3b

Extract of author's interview with Hilary Tjapaltjarri, where he describes his arrival at Haasts Bluff and trying ration foods for the first time, indicative that the Mission was no longer transporting these products west of Haasts Bluff:[231]

Hilary

We all went there, and the people there gathered with us and were crying for us. Yes, they cried over us. They made a fire for us, and then they mixed some flour food for us. They used to carry flour around with them. They used to mix flour food cook it and give it to the others. They persuaded us to try it. We tried it and we said, "This is bad food." That was that flour damper. Then they boiled some tea. They boiled it and said that we should try it. We tried it and said, "This tea is bad". You know, we did not know about those things. We only lived on water all the time. We had not drunk any tea, we did not know about that. We were living on water. It was like that.

(End of extract)

After being welcomed by crying relatives at Haasts Bluff and trying the new foods (was Namarari among the welcoming party?), Hilary's group departed

[231] Hilary Tjapaltjarri, interview with author, assisted by Katie Allen, May 5, 2010, Alice Springs, translation from Pintupi by Ken Hansen.

for some time and then returned, possibly spurning the near-vacant lands to the west in favour of the comfort of *walytja*.

Interview extract 3c

Extract of author's interview with Hilary Tjapaltjarri (continued):

Hilary

At that time there was too much sickness there. We would go to other places away from the sickness so it would die down. There was too much sickness you could not stay there. We would leave there on foot and go out to the other places on foot. We stayed out there and then came back again, we came on and on and got to Putarti. From Putarti we came to Kapilykarra. We drank water there and slept got up and came to where? To Mikantarra. We came around to that place. We came from there and slept at where? At Winparrku. Then we came on to Mangayaka. From Mangayaka we came to the place Punmu and slept there. From there we came into Haasts Bluff. That's the finish of this story.

(End of extract)

Whilst the timing link here is speculative, it is tempting to consider that Hilary's family group came in to Haasts Bluff in 1948, coinciding with the measles epidemic (see below). Hilary's mention of specific individuals and the rations shed aids in locating the time, for he said that Pastor Pech was at Haasts Bluff – he arrived in 1947 with his wife Elizabeth. Hilary also noted that *Edward, an older man called Tjungurrayi, used to give us ration food, he was an Aboriginal man. He was in the ration shop, he looked after the rations for the people. They used to get rations and go off.'* Hilary also stated that he arrived at Haasts Bluff before Jeremy Long (who first arrived in the mid 1950s).

In contrast to the view of Haasts Bluff through Aboriginal oral history, glimpses from white visitors add to an appreciation of a place that has been overlooked in the historical record. The nurse Marjorie Gartrell, the Superintendent Jeremy Long and the researcher Norman Tindale from Adelaide each had contact with Namarari or his close relatives in the mid to late 1950s at Haasts Bluff. Some of their recollections and records follow here.

Marjorie Gartrell was stationed at Haasts Bluff in the mid 1950s. She described 'the full extent of the settlement' as 'a simple house of corrugated iron, an iron church, a shed for the mission truck, and huts for native workers'. Pastor

Pech and wife Elizabeth arrived in 1947.[232] She believed the settlement was playing its role because the 'native reserves' were 'officially incorporated into the assimilation policy':

> Natives enlisted from the local tribes perform unskilled duties about the settlements. These native workers, who earn a small wage, learn something of their planned destiny through constant contact with whites, and are a valuable, if somewhat confused, link between new ideas and old. In this way the reserves play an important part in the Government's assimilation policy, guiding and protecting the aboriginal in the difficult early stages of his journey towards full citizenship (Gartrell, 1957, p. 14).

Gartrell was one of many white staff assisting in the early stages of the Aborigines' seemingly inevitable transition. She perceived Haasts Bluff as 'an isolated corner of the Centre, at the very end of the road, and west of us stretched a thousand miles of wilderness', though she enjoyed her experience: 'Life was rich. Life was wonderful.' (Gartrell, 1957, p. 19). The 'thousand miles of wilderness' was familiar to Gartrell's Pintupi patients at Haasts Bluff: it was their traditional country. She also referred to buying locally produced watercolour paintings at Haasts Bluff during her stay (Gartrell, 1957, p. 102). Gartrell also reported a particular death at Haasts Bluff which impacted on Namarari's family (see below).

Jeremy Long visited Haasts Bluff in early 1957 and was soon appointed as the settlement's Superintendent.[233] Long clearly recalled meeting Namarari at Haasts Bluff in the mid to late 1950s.[234] Long knew Namarari and his family, Wingulya Nakamarra ('an older wife'), Melva and Oswald and many other Aboriginal people. Namarari was not a stockman but worked in local jobs and 'wanted to do the right thing, he was not a troublemaker'. Namarari 'didn't speak English a lot and didn't have much to say'. By comparison, according to Long, Nosepeg Tjupurrula 'was always looking for something more interesting' and Charlie Tarawa was 'an amusing character'. Long considered that Tarawa and Namarari were in 'the same age group and had been at Tempe Downs together, though Namarari had more beard, perhaps a little bit older'. Nosepeg and Tarawa both worked in Alice Springs during the war years (early 1940s, see Kimber, 1988, pp. 64-66) whereas Namarari stayed at Haasts Bluff, giving both of those men deeper insights into a diversity of whitefella behaviours and cross-cultural relations than Namarari might have gained in the small isolated settlement.

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[232] They were probably Gartrell's informants for historical parts of her book.
[233] When the manager Bowden took leave Long was appointed Acting Manager for August-October 1957, then Superintendent for all of 1958 until February 1959. Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.
[234] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.

Norman Tindale returned to the Centre in the mid 1950s to continue his research. Whilst he stayed at Haasts Bluff he maintained a diary,[235] which revealed some insights about people and life at Haasts Bluff including one direct note about Namarari (see below). Tindale had 'a long talk' with Warungola (Johnny Warungkula Tjupurrula) about his trip in 1954 to Darwin and across to Brisbane to meet the Queen.[236] On another occasion Tindale walked out to Haasts Bluff (the range), passing a creek crossing called 'Alalba', where they found 'newly vacated camps of the aborigines of Nosepeg's Pintubi group who had just lately gone out west dog scalp collecting'.[237] About three weeks later the diarist records the group's return 'from Ilbili bringing dog scalps for trade', with 'each man collecting 5-6 pounds, using it to buy new shirts for their children, cloth for their wives and tinned fruit'. Tindale asked one man where he had been and he replied, *'Ngura waltjanga'* which meant 'to my own country'.[238]

Tindale's notes confirm Long's recollection that people living at Haasts Bluff continued to travel out west, perhaps returning with animal skins, and also, I would suggest, using their site visits to continue cultural maintenance or ceremonial activity. According to Long, Haasts Bluff offered significant benefits to mobile Pintupi family groups and it may be that men and boys returning to the west were also looking for relatives:

> In the late 1940s and 1950s more families had continued to walk in to the Haasts Bluff/Mt Liebig area from the west but some – probably young men and boys for the most part – had also returned to the west on occasions... there was by 1956 no question that life would be more secure and families better nourished at Haasts Bluff (Long, 1989, p. 24).

That said, Namarari's recollections of life at Haasts Bluff did not focus on work or travel, food or security. Though it may be a consequence of the photographs of old men that Kean was showing him during their interview, Namarari's thoughts were turned to a 'whole lot of Pintupi' who were lost (died) at Haasts Bluff. It seems a combination of old age, disease and violence necessitated many funerals and (one imagines) too much sorry business. Whilst many dozens of people may have gathered temporarily at water places like Ilpilli, the many hundreds settled at Haasts Bluff made for a different dynamic.

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[235] SA Museum, AA338-4-34_010
[236] SA Museum, AA338-4-34_018. Johnny Warungkula and Nosepeg Tjupurrula travelled to Toowoomba in 1954 and met Queen Elizabeth on her visit to Australia. (Johnson, 2008, p. 64).
[237] SA Museum, AA338-4-34_044 (The diary records that 'Nosepeg was a young man when he came from Muruntji to Mt Liebig in 1932 to see our party'.)
[238] SA Museum, AA338-4-34_043

4 Losing family

Kean showed Namarari photographs of Mintunmintun and Muruntu and others from the BAR records of 1932. Namarari assists by identifying the old people in the photographs and his relationship to them. Mintunmintun and Muruntu were also on Strehlow's 1942 Haasts Bluff list in the 'Men entitled to Government support' section.

Interview extract 4a

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, looking at Mintunmintun's photograph:

Namarari

This one is only, he passed this one. He had some family here family he lost all the family. Some of them were our family. Second my brother.[239]

Kean

Is that true?

Namarari

We buried this one together at Haasts Bluff. He got two name Mintunmintun and Comet. That Long Jack he got 'em our relative (KH: as his wife) *a daughter of this one.*

Kean

Is that true?

Namarari

Yes.

Kean

[239] This word is unclear, Hansen originally transcribed it as father.

xxx When I go back I will show it to Long Jack.

Namarari

You can show 'em Long Jack.

Kean

He painted this one. Mintunmintun belonged to which country?

Namarari

Pintupi, Pintupi. We went together through here to Haasts Bluff.

Kean

You know this old man?

Namarari

Yes This man was our family. He was a Tjungarrayi.
(End of extract)

Interview extract 4b
Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, looking at Muruntu's photograph:

Kean

This one number 64 is Muruntu. Do you know the old man Muruntu?

Namarari

Muruntunya? He died at Papunya. Not Papunya but at Haasts Bluff. We lost 'em there old people old man

Kean

An old man?

Namarari

No, many old men. The man with that name Muruntu and his group. They all died at Haasts Bluff. There was a whole lot of Pintupi died there finished.

Kean

All died.

Namarari

Some xxx many were very sick when they came in to Haasts Bluff, because all the green trees like these had all died. Trees just like all these. Finished. The kangaroos and other animals were all gone and it was all dry. That dry time hit them all.

(End of extract)

Central Australia was hit by a measles epidemic in mid 1948, affecting Haasts Bluff, Hermannsburg and Areyonga. It was a difficult time for Haasts Bluff's growing population of four hundred persons according to the local nurse:

> Overnight the place became a casualty station for sick, fear-ridden natives. [...] To the primitive native (with no immunity) measles is a virulent contagion which reaches fantastic proportions, and major complications set in early in the majority of cases. [...] The sudden, overwhelming demands of widespread sickness caused shortages of clothing, blankets and staff. The church contained sixty patients, and others were housed in a rough garage, in workers' huts, and on the veranda of the mission house, which gave them protection from the bitter weather. Natives as primitive as the patients had to be instructed in simple cooking, that the sick might be fed. [...] The panic of the natives was as bad as the disease. They were terror-stricken (Gartrell, 1957, pp. 77-78).

Namarari spoke of a 'big sickness time' when many people were sick and some died, separate to the sickness affecting the people coming in during times of drought. The big sickness time aligns with the nurse Gartrell's account of a widespread measles epidemic. Namarari has clear recollections of the event though he does not describe himself as 'terror-stricken'.

Interview extract 4c

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari:

Namarari

Do you know that big sickness time? I was in the church like this, in the church. All the sick ones came into the church. xxx I used to get them things xxx I used to work there. I was a cook for them. You know that grandson[240] *of mine he lost his baby there. I was working there with the whitefella. Some people pass on some people living. They used to dig the graves ready for a person to die. They would dig it and leave it. We would take them to the graves. There were many of them* (KH: who died). *They would get sick like this. It was a very big sickness which came then. There were old men, older girls, other girls.*

Kean

Which ones did it kill?

Namarari

It killed lots of them.

Kean

Was it sickness?

Namarari

Yes, it was sickness. xxx That sickness did not come back again. It was at Haasts Bluff. We kept working while the others (KH: whitefellas) *kept working xxx at the funerals. xxx They used to dig the grave holes ready ahead of time. When one died they would take him to the grave. I was there* (KH: in the church). *They would bring food for them. xxx There were older girls as well. I used to take food for the blind ones as well. I would put it in front of them. Yes, they were very sick.*

There was only one Muruntu. Following that the sickness kept away from me. Some fella got well, some fella died. I was working there and I did not get sick. I used to give them food and meat all the time. I did not get sick, I worked on. I was a young fella. There were two of us working another young whitefella.

(End of extract)

[240] I am unsure here whether Namarari might in fact be saying 'my cousin'.

In addition to above descriptions of loss, Namarari mentioned to Kean the deaths of his own parents during that interview, saying 'I lost my mother at Haasts Bluff'. Tindale made a hand-written note for Namarari's mother, Meyjenu:[241] 'dead before 1956 at Haast (sic) Bluff. Buried in cemetery'. Tindale's note is the only written record located regarding Meijenu in the 1950s. Her name was not listed in the Register of Wards or Tindale's Nominal Roll, suggesting she probably died before 1953.

Namarari described working alongside 'another young white man' during the big sickness. Such instances lend weight to the notion that Namarari was gathering experience, if not confidence, in his one-to-one interactions with whitefellas, through which he learned about their practices and perhaps became more recognisable as an individual, rather than simply being one of a group. The epidemic put him in close daily contact with the mission staff tending the sick, not to mention doing the burials, which may have also produced sad memories. His life in the cross-cultural zone showed numerous signs of active involvement. The Pintupi people did not wholly depart the area after the deaths, though people may have relocated their particular camps. Such behaviour may be another cultural adjustment to the settlement lifestyle for Namarari and his kin - that is, a death does not result in the local population departing the area entirely. There may have been numerous adjustments made as a consequence of living close together in large groups that were not reported and are now out of sight. Whilst Namarari has talked about some of these factors, the release and translation of the several other Kean and Batty interviews with Namarari's contemporaries may shed further light on the cross-cultural world they encountered and experienced.

The measles epidemic in 1948 was not the only dramatic event for Namarari. The family tragedy at Haasts Bluff concerns Mintunmintun (Kamutu), Namarari's second father, who died in a violent killing. The event as described by Gartrell took place in 1948, and another man injured at that time was the first patient to be flown out by the Flying Doctor to Alice Springs.[242] Gartrell (1957) says that 'Kamutu was an important leader respected by all', though Kean described him as a powerful leader and 'a feared sorcerer' (Kean, 2011, p. 161). After the attack at Kamatu's camp, another man ran for help to Pastor Pech and Elizabeth, but Kamatu died before their arrival, whereupon 'the tribe's morale was shattered' (Gartrell, 1957, pp. 31-32). Recalling that Namarari as a child came upon his father's lifeless body years before, it is hard to imagine how he comprehended this additional blow to his family and particularly to his mother Meiyenu, who lost

[241] Genealogy Sheet 2, SA Museum AA346-5-5_02.
[242] An airstrip was constructed at Haasts Bluff in 1948.

a second husband in a violent assault. Batty wrote that 'Mick was related to one of the murderers and remembers this event with great sadness' (Batty, 2007, p. 24). It is difficult not to conclude that, for the period 1930s-1940s, that the number of revenge killings, the loss of life through the measles epidemic, and the loss of the elderly through what we call 'natural causes' all took a significant toll on Namarari and those around him. It could have seemed an endless loss of life, magnified by the large numbers of people settling semi-permanently at Haasts Bluff.

5 With one eye on the west

Oral accounts emphasise the extent of Pintupi mobility around Haasts Bluff: new arrivals were coming in and some people (men only?) were making return trips into the near and far west. There appears to be considerable travelling activity along a route including Haasts Bluff-Winparrku-Irantji-Putarti-Ilpilli-Walungurru, with side trips to the numerous water places to the north and south of this east-west trail. The logic of this travelling scenario is appealing for three reasons: the way Pintupi men learn about a place is by being there; there were no restrictions on the Pintupi regarding travel; and at least some people at Haasts Bluff were anxious to find their distant relatives, if for no other reason than to provide them with ration food in times of drought as they were 'worrying' for them.

Interview extract 5a

Extract from Kean's audio interview with Namarari, referring to at Haasts Bluff, where he mentions hunting using spears as a young man:

Namarari

Young man. When I was living there I would go out and spear animals. Yes, with a spear. I used to follow emu and spear them too in the hot time. I would spear them as they stood in the shade. Where was I when I speared them? At Tjarruwara. It is this way from here. It was when there was no bore at Browns Bore. There was no bore at Tjarruwara. There was none at Browns Bore, there was only a soakage there. It was this direction from the bore there. We used to live there, it was a large pool of water there, in the rain time you know. After living at Haasts Bluff for a long time I was starting little bit tjilpi.

(End of extract)

It is difficult to specify when he was 'hunting as a young man' at places

such as Taruwarra, though the 1940s - when he was in his twenties - is a reasonable estimate. A bore was first sunk at Taruwarra in 1948.[243] Namarari notes he was getting older by saying he was a little bit like an old man (*tjilpi*).

The gradual diminution of water sources at Haasts Bluff concerned the residents and the Commonwealth so it sought a new location to (re)settle people. In May 1956 'a site adjacent to Papunya bore was selected and boring commenced to provide additional water supplies'.[244] Kimber understood that the new location was also a consequence of the presence of some Pintupi people having 'established a large camp north of Haasts Bluff at Warunpi, the Honey-Ant Dreaming hill, the name of the camp was the word later rendered to Papunya' (Amadio & Kimber, 1988, p. 7). Consequently, the planned settlement had a raison d'etre, a location and a name.

As Kimber stated, some Pintupi people were already 'on the move' out of Haasts Bluff after the mid 1950s. A number of Haasts Bluff's Pintupi residents, including Namarari, had undertaken short-term 'return to the west' initiatives, temporarily departing Haasts Bluff to camp at water places such as Winparrku,[245] and when Pintupi groups camped away from Haasts Bluff 'weekly rations would be carried out to them' (Davis et al, 1977, p. 15). Were they moving out because they were trying to avoid the impending forced relocation to Papunya? Further, in 1957, Long's recommendation to senior Native Welfare officials that outstations be set up in Pintupi country closer to the NT-WA border was not adopted,[246] a decision that possibly delayed (but did not quash) the Pintupi's aspirations. It seems therefore that it was the Pintupi who informally initiated the homelands or outstations movement at Haasts Bluff in the late 1950s; it did not spring up at Papunya in 1970s as a consequence of the self-determination policy in Aboriginal affairs. Nevertheless, Papunya remained the Commonwealth's preferred resettlement location for the Pintupi and other Western Desert peoples (Amadio & Kimber, 1988, pp. 69-70).

6 The promise of things to come

Pastor Albrecht at Hermannsburg held the view that 'The Aborigines from their nomadic past find themselves in a world that is so strange to them. With careful handling and training they have a future and they could make a contribution

[243] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.
[244] The Northern Territory. Annual Report for year 1955-56. Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, Government Printer, Canberra, 1958. p37. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.ans-vn497673-1x-s10-e-cd> accessed 14-10-2011.
[245] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.
[246] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.

to Australian life and community'.[247] His compass pointed him toward religious conversion, social welfare and economic engagement for the Aborigines. Through the 1950s-60s the Commonwealth pursued its assimilation policy in the NT, led by Paul Hasluck after 1951 when he became the Commonwealth's Minister for Territories (see McGregor, 2011, pp. 76-91). In 1954 Harry Giese was appointed Director of the newly created Welfare Branch (replacing the Native Affairs Branch) in the Northern Territory Administration (NTA). Restrictive measures were no longer to be based on the 'grounds of race' but on 'special needs' and for legislative purposes individuals in need of discriminatory measures were defined as 'wards'.[248] Hasluck and Giese worked hand-in-hand to implement their assimilation agenda and the Mission lost its supervisory role at Haasts Bluff to the Commonwealth in 1954 (though Lutheran churches operate to this day in all the Western Desert communities relevant to this study - Haasts Bluff, Papunya, Mt Liebig and Kintore).

Giese, writing in 1957, identified two principles that shaped policy in the native welfare field:[249]

> These principles are: a) The only possible future for the small or very small minority of the aboriginal people is to merge into and be received as full members of the European community which surrounds them. b) The administrative problem is primarily a social problem rather than a racial problem; that is, the task of the Administration is to help those people live happily and usefully in our society.

The 'only future' countenanced for Aborigines was to merge and to be accepted by the Europeans. The view from Canberra was that the 'Aboriginal problem' would be solved with a social inclusion program that would 'merge' them with all Australians. Hasluck also initiated 'the first government-sponsored campaign to promote the public acceptance of Aboriginal people' (McGregor, 2011, p. 88), as he was convinced of the need to for community participation because assimilation 'will never be completed without the sympathy and practical help of all Australians' (McGregor, 2011, p. 91). Giese and Hasluck fervently believed in the eventual success of assimilation, focusing on the Aboriginal individual:[250]

> To be assimilated there must be a major change in each individual – a change which must concern itself with a discarding of tribal ideas, values, traditions, loyalties, and an acceptance of standards of conduct, social conventions and general purposes of the Australian community into which

[247] FW Albrecht, speaking at Hermannsburg, in Benny and the Dreamers, 1993, archival footage, year unknown.
[248] Giese, Harry Christian, Dictionary of biography, vol. 3 pp. 119-123.
[249] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin, p1.
[250] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin, p2.

> the native will eventually move. There can only be a real acceptance of our ideals, values and standard of conduct if the native can see a purpose in changing and in being accepted, and can be given the hope and the faith to assist him through the arduous and difficult period of transition between his way of life and the way of life of our community to which he is aspiring.

Hasluck believed that government policy and programs should enable individuals to 'extricate themselves from the ruins of one society and relocate[e] in another' (McGregor, 2011, p.29). Namarari was one such individual, no longer perceived as *myall* requiring protection and separation from the European community. The policy required that Namarari 'discards his tribal affiliations, sees a purpose in changing whilst receiving hope and faith to do so', and finally accepts for himself the Australian community's standards of conduct 'to which he is aspiring'. In short, it requires that he ceases to be a Pintupi man, for the cultural responsibilities and practices of a *wati* are surely incompatible with the strictures laid out in Giese's statement. There is no evidence in Namarari's interviews that he harboured desires to discard his tribal affiliations. Likewise there is no evidence from Namarari or from other interviews conducted with his relatives for this project that the Commonwealth explained its intentions or rationale to Namarari. Nevertheless, there was realistically no option but for him to engage.

The policy shift was embodied in two Ordinances: the Wards Welfare Ordinance, replacing the Aboriginal Ordinance of 1940, and the Wards Employment Ordinance.[251] The requisite bills were introduced into the NT Legislative Council in 1953.

Hasluck did not want non-Aboriginal people identified as wards, yet needed a way to extend the existing Aboriginal Ordinance provisions. The distinction decided upon was that no person 'entitled to vote' could be declared a ward of the state, a neat side step of the racial basis of the policy.[252] At the time 'full-blood' Aborigines in the NT did not have voting rights, though 'half-castes' were exempted from registration as wards.[253] The status of ward was of course effectively predetermined and applied to all 'full-blood' Aboriginal people. The approach was spelled out by the NT Administrator when writing to the Secretary of the Commonwealth's Department of Territories in late 1954. He stated that 'Superintendents and Mission Stations and officers in charge of Patrol Districts' will 'obtain the necessary personal information for all individual Aborigines and

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[251] The Wards Employment Ordinance did not take effect until 1959.

[252] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.

[253] McGregor (2011): the Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902... excluded Aborigines from voting in Commonwealth elections except those already entitled to do so in the States (p. xxi), the federal government, through its Commonwealth Electoral Act 1949 extended 'the Commonwealth franchise to all Aboriginal people entitled to vote at state level' (pp. 68-69). It was until 1962 that amendments to the Electoral Act meant Aborigines could vote though enrolment not compulsory (p. 145).

family groups in preparation for the Register of Wards and a census of Aborigines'.[254] The census was completed in June 1956 and the resultant Register of Wards was first published in May 1957.[255]

The multiplicity of Aboriginal names was 'incompatible with the demands of the bureaucratic state' and 'the modern Western naming system' was therefore ascribed to Aboriginal people for the purpose of the Register of Wards' (McGregor, 2011, p. 94). The list facilitated 'keeping track' of people, with names being added to or removed from the list for various reasons over time.[256] The *Welfare Ordinance 1953-1955* was published along with the *Schedule of Wards*, specifying four criteria to identify those who 'stand in need of special care and assistance' (viz. wards):[257]

> I, James Clarence Archer, the Administrator of the Northern Territory of Australia, in pursuance of the powers conferred on me by the Welfare Ordinance 1953-1955, do by this notice declare to be wards the persons named in the Schedule to this declaration, being persons who, by reason of their manner of living, their inability without assistance adequately to manage their own affairs, their standard of social habit and behaviour and their personal associations, stand in need of such special care or assistance as is provided for by the said Ordinance.

Based on the initial Register of Wards in the NT, there 'was nearly 15,000 full-blood Aborigines with nearly 3,500 in employment'.[258] By 1959 in the NT there were 14,878 'persons living and validly registered as wards'.[259] Giese described the Welfare Ordinance as enunciating 'a new philosophical concept that citizenship is as much the right of natives as of other Australians and is only withheld from those who at this stage stand in need of special care and assistance'.[260] Berg asserts that such 'guardianship' by the state is another way to intervene in or control people's lives' (Berg, 2010, p. 163), which was certainly the Commonwealth's intention in this instance. In the late 1950s criticisms concerning the Ordinance increased, notably by AP Elkin (a respected anthropologist) who insisted the term 'ward' should not be used, with its perpetuation of the perception of Aboriginal people as child-like, 'irresponsible, impetuous and immature' (McGregor, 2011, pp. 86-7). The Register was abandoned in the early 1960s. Individuals named on the wards register were prohibited from consuming alcohol and having sexual relations with whites. At the time there were no 'drinking rights'

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[254] NAA Letter from Administrator, 22nd December 1954, headed Register of Wards: Welfare Ordinance 1953. Series F1, Control symbol 1957/1580, Item barcode 450006.
[255] www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/nt-guide/chapter8/index.html Viewed August 29, 2011.
[256] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.
[257] The 'Northern Territory of Australia Government Gazette', No. 19B, 13th May 1957. p. 148
[258] The Native Welfare Policy, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin, p1.
[259] NAA Series F1 Control Symbol 1957/145 Part 2 Location Darwin barcode 522446. p. 21
[260] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin. p12.

for Aborigines in the NT. (The NT laws changed in 1964 to allow consumption of alcohol by Aborigines, with certain restrictions. McGregor, 2011, p. 150). Albert Namatjira, the famous Aboriginal artist, was granted citizenship (carrying automatic voting and drinking rights), so his name was not on the Register. It was an offence to supply alcohol to people prohibited from consuming it, viz. all those people listed as wards. This was Namatjira's crime for which he was sentenced to prison, and he subsequently served some of his time at Papunya in 1959. Namarari had contact with Namatjira at Haasts Bluff and Papunya so it is intriguing to contemplate what, if anything, Namarari understood about Namatjira's status as a citizen and an artist, and the implications of his crime and punishment.

7 Walytja: the 1950s

The mid 1950s record that listed Namarari and his relatives was the 'Welfare Ordinance Register of Wards',[261] showing individuals under various headings.[262] People were classified under 'Tribe' as: 'Pitjantjatjarra (those from the south), Pintupi (those from the west), or Ngalia (the southern Walpiri)'. It is unknown what information was given to individuals about the register's purpose and function during its compilation. Some 400 names appear on the wards list for the Haasts Bluff sub-district. These include (with my notes added to identify them):

Benny Tapaltari, who appears in 'Benny and the Dreamers';

Charlie Tarara Tungarai, (Watuma) went with Namarari to Tempe Downs;

Frank Tanitjakurba Tapurula, the father of Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra;

Johnny Warangula Tapurula, a kinship brother of Frank with rights to Kalipinypa;

Leo Tambidjina, a grandson of Namarari;

Melva Punuta Nangarai, the adopted daughter of Namarari;

Mick Ngamuarie Tapaltari, Namarari (note another spelling of his name);

Nosepeg Jankulta Tapurula, an important Pintupi man in the Western Desert;

Obed Ngala, (Raggett) who played key roles at Haasts Bluff and Papunya;

Oswald Kamuta Tangarai, the adopted son of Namarari;

Wenjilla Nakamara, Namarari's first wife, Melva and Oswald's mother;

Yala Yalatjukurba Tangala, husband of Melva, and Leo's father.

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[261] NAA Register of Wards at Haasts Bluff, Series no. E745, Control symbol C5, Item barcode 755838.

[262] The register, often disparagingly referred to as the 'Stud Book', recorded district, European name, tribal or personal name, group, tribe, sex, year of birth, and sub-district.

All those individuals are listed as Pintubi except Obed (Aranda), and Frank, Leo and Yala (Ngalia). Namarari's year of birth is shown as 1926 and his wife Wingulya's (Wenjilla Nakamarra) year of birth is shown as 1918.

The Register of Wards is the first identifiable written record where Namarari's birth year is shown as '1926' and the first written record of the name 'Mick'. The spelling 'Ngamuarie' reflects the sound to the person writing it down. It was later noted that the spelling of Aboriginal names for the Register required 'some rules and a little compromise'.[263] However, an aspect of the 'ascribing of fixed names' for the Register 'was far more than a bureaucratic convenience. It was also an induction and invitation into the nuclear family-oriented world of western modernity and the nuclear family-based sociality of the Australian way of life' (McGregor, 2011, p. 95), in alignment with assimilation objectives.

In accordance with the Welfare Ordinance's provisions Namarari could expect 'special care and assistance' as a result of his perceived 'inability to manage without assistance his own affairs'. I asked two of Namarari's relatives, Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula (nephew) and Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa (grandson), if they knew of the Register.[264] They each responded 'no'. I asked if they knew that they or their relatives had been listed as wards of the state. Again, 'no'. Did they know that their relative Namarari was listed as a ward? No. It is important to note that individuals listed were not permanently so, as a person's name could be removed by virtue of being granted citizenship, or by marriage to a non-ward.[265] None of the people listed at Haasts Bluff, including Namarari, were identified as subsequently being removed.[266]

Separate to the Register of Wards list, a woman I believe to be Namarari's sister was located on the Southwest census for Palmer Valley in 1954 (prepared for the Register). Her name appears as 'Maudie Wai-uda Nabaljari', a Nabaljari woman from the 'Peterman R*' born* in *1915*, and listed as 'Housegirl'.[267] There is another mention of Maudie, with the same details, at Palmer Valley in the 1955 local census.[268] On that Palmer Valley census list of over twenty pages there was *only one Pintubi* name found: Maudie Nabaljari. She is most likely Namarari's sister, the one who went to Tempe Downs (near Palmer Valley). Murphy Roberts said her European name was 'Maudie'. Interestingly, immediately above her name

[263] NAA Letter from H C Giese, Director of Welfare to Pastor Scherer, Hermannsburg, 1961. Series no. F1, Control symbol 1957/145, Item barcode 689928.
[264] Interviews with author, November 2009.
[265] A Wards Appeals Tribunal and the Administrative Council were part of the bureaucratic process. As of March 11, 1964, 208 names had been removed through those mechanisms.
[266] NAA Removed from Register of Wards as at 11th March, 1964. (Not including Part Aboriginals). Series no. E933, Control symbol Register, Item barcode 1382750.
[267] Register of Wards Census South West District Series No. E745 Control Symbol C10 Location Darwin Barcode 755841. p. 15.
[268] Register of Wards Census South West District Place of Census Palmer Valley taken by G. Holden. 26/12/55. Series E745, Control symbol C9, Item barcode 755840.

on the same list is an entry for the man 'Jack O'Donnell Possum H/C' ('H/C' denoting 'half-caste'), with no details under sex, birth, birthplace, tribe, or occupation for the man O'Donnell.

Those two names may be adjacent because they are husband and wife. If that is the case, O'Donnell was another of Namarari's brothers-in-law. Daphne Williams believes that O'Donnell was Maudie's second husband, an understanding derived from her conversations about Namarari's family history with Margaret Conway. Margaret's mother was Lucy (or 'Closie') Conway, one of Maudie's two daughters. Margaret Conway is Namarari's great-niece in European terms.[269] Tommy Conway Tjapangati, a brother of Margaret and a grandson of Maudie Napaltjarri believes she (Maudie) was born at Kampurrapa.[270] This site, at the location of Mt. Russell, is northeast of Ilpilli, in the region Namarari roamed as a child with his family.

Norman Tindale prepared the second record examined for this project that lists Namarari and his relatives.[271] He returned to Haasts Bluff in 1956 to continue his research in Central Australia.[272] He met some of the people he first encountered at Mt Liebig in 1932, including Namarari. His Nominal Record lists the following group of four individuals as a family: '"Mick" Ngamarari, Wingula, Melva Punata, (Ljala's wife), Oswald Kamatu'.[273] It shows Mick and Wingula as husband and wife. Melva (daughter) is married to the man Ljala, and Oswald (son) has an association with the (presumably Lutheran) church.

The individual 'Jalatjukarupa' is listed on Tindale's genealogy sheet as the subject 'Y16'.[274] Jalatjukarupa is the husband of Melva Nungurrayi (Namarari's adopted daughter). Tindale notes that Jalatjukarupa was at Mt Liebig in 1932, aged 3-4 years. That being the case, as boys Namarari and Jalatjukarupa probably played together, not knowing that the latter would become the son-in-law of the former at Haasts Bluff. Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa confirmed that his father Jalatjukarupa was a Warlpiri man, known as Yala Tjangala as an adult.[275]

Tindale's record also lists two men at Haasts Bluff with the same name: 'Ngamarari'. It is of interest to note, immediately following '*Mick Ngamarari*', is the individual 'Ngamarari M single, approx. 33. (Ivy's and Snowy's br.)' This Ngamarari (Ivy and Snowy's brother) was single and, curiously or coincidentally, born around 1923, the same year as Mick Ngamarari's year of birth. No records

[269] Daphne Williams, pers comm. 2009.
[270] Tommy Conway Tjapangati, interview with author, August 6, 2011, Kintore.
[271] As part of the Board for Anthropological Research Expedition from Adelaide.
[272] Tindale compiled the 'Nominal Records, Haasts Bluff' of the local population and continued recording the genealogies of Aboriginal people and subsequently added notes to the charts he first prepared at Mt Liebig in 1932.
[273] SA Museum, AA338-2-45_Nominal Roll_p5
[274] SA Museum, AA346-5-5_Haasts Bluff_16
[275] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, interview with author, November 7, 2009, Mt Liebig.

have been found to associate 'Ivy' or 'Snowy' with Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri, and family members interviewed for this project knew of no such connection. It is likely that Tindale mistakenly confused the two men at that time at Haasts Bluff.

In Tindale's 1956 genealogy diagram for Mick Namarari's family, he records 'Ngamarari' as the husband of 'Wingula' with two children Melva and Oswald. Tindale assigned the code numbers Y8 and H6 for this Ngamarari and listed him as a Ngalia man.[276] Tindale's handwritten note adjacent to 'Ngamarari' states: 'est 28 years in 1932, Tapaltjari, est 52 years, 2nd husband of Wingula'. Tindale's note indicates that *this* Namarari, of about 52 years of age, was born about 1904. Clearly this cannot be the Mick Namarari, born c1923, who is Wingulya's second husband. The confusion is resolved in part in Tindale's August 1958 chart on which he writes:[277] 'Ngamarari, Ngamari at Mt Liebig, single, c 34 years, In 1957'. Tindale again assigns the code numbers Y8 and H6 to this individual and the tribal group 'Ngalea' to H6. On this chart for 'Ngamarari' there are three siblings (Snowy, Ivy and Anjupa). It is most likely that Tindale made mistaken entries regarding Mick Namarari during his 1956 research at Haasts Bluff. As Jeremy Long confirmed, there were *two* Namarari's at Haasts Bluff: Mick Namarari and a man called 'Fat Namarari'.[278] Perhaps it was the presence of two 'Namarari's' at Haasts Bluff in the mid 1950s that caused Tindale's confusion.[279]

Conclusion

To this point the early chapters have provided some appreciation of Namarari's lifestyle as a child with his family, shed light on the time he spent in the corridor of contact, and acknowledged his transition to manhood and his experiences as a stockman. Recollections of travelling in the Haasts Bluff region and the loss of relatives are important aspects of his oral history. He regarded himself at the time as a young man and he married for the first time. It is not apparent in the Kean and Batty interviews which Pintupi individuals Namarari specifically associated with at Haasts Bluff. His frequent references to work invite a consideration of how he used money and which goods or services were available for purchase. In the meantime, Pintupi people continued to walk into Haasts Bluff from the west in small groups. Namarari does not express any overt dissatisfaction with his life at Haasts Bluff, though he (and other Pintupi) sometimes relocated to

[276] SA Museum, AA346-5-5_Haasts Bluff_07; marked with a '7 ' and stamped 'HAAST (sic) BLUFF C.AUSTR. 15 AUG 1956'
[277] SA Museum, AA346-5-5_Haasts Bluff_27, date stamped '22 AUG 1958'
[278] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.
[279] I reported what I believe to be the discrepancy in Tindale's 1956-7 records from Haasts Bluff for Mick Namarari to the SA Museum in January 2010.

water places to the near west of Haasts Bluff, a forerunner to the outstations movement of the 1970s. Whilst Namarari witnessed the development of Haasts Bluff there is scant reference to that history in his recorded interviews.

I have shown that Namarari was declared a ward of the state in the mid 1950s but it cannot be verified if Namarari knew about this classification or its relevance. It is also unlikely that he had been made aware of his status as a citizen: 'Hasluck and other senior officials were aware that, by virtue of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948,* Aboriginal people were already citizens by birth…' (McGregor, 2011, p. 83), or that the federal government through its *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1949* had extended 'the Commonwealth franchise to all Aboriginal people entitled to vote at state level' (McGregor, 2011, pp. 68-9). His status as a ward placed him a special sub-category of citizen into the 1960s.

As the decade of the 1950s closed around Haasts Bluff, some of its men were regularly travelling a little way to the north, beyond the majestic bluff itself, to work alongside numerous tradesmen in the construction of a new government settlement named Papunya. For Namarari it will be another place on someone else's country to make camp, while the Commonwealth intends it to be a training centre to enable a more intensive intervention into Aboriginal lives in support of the policy of assimilation.

Chapter 5

Line up here for a new way of life, 1959-1970

The history of Papunya from the late 1950s to the mid 1970s might be cast as a play between opposing interests with misunderstanding and conflict between various sub-cultures. Given the development of nearby Haasts Bluff through the 1950s, why did it not remain the Commonwealth's location of choice for a substantial Aboriginal settlement in the region? Two factors influenced the government's decision: its broader plan for Aboriginal people across the NT and the failing water supply at Haasts Bluff. In order to comprehend the (eventual) rejection by the Pintupi people including Namarari of Papunya as a permanent and desirable place to live, it is necessary to ask: what is the story of Papunya's genesis?[280] A review of Papunya's history illuminates Namarari's circumstances and can serve here to dispel some myths in the public record about that place. For example, as recently as 2003 one author described Papunya this way:

> Established in 1969 to provide a collection camp for Pintupi and other Aboriginal people forcibly brought in from the Western Desert, Papunya only became an artistic centre after school teacher Geoffrey Bardon, pondering how to integrate large numbers of disparate groups and re-educate their children, encouraged a group of elders to paint a large mural at the school (Kociumbas, 2003, p. 137).

Papunya's Aboriginal population swelled by over 85% in less than a decade from 514 in 1960 to 960 by late 1968. The people were mainly 'Pitjantjara, Ngalia and Pintubi' at the outset and 'mainly Pintubi, with many Wailbri and some Pitjantjara and Ngalia' later in the decade.[281] The population increased slightly into the 1970s[282] and slowly declined as that decade unfolded, due mostly to departures of the Pintupi. The main language used at Papunya by Aborigines was Luritja, which developed around Haasts Bluff.[283] The Commonwealth managed Papunya as a training settlement for Aboriginal people as part of its assimilation program.

This chapter opens with Papunya's genesis as a prelude to Namarari's arrival in 1959. Aspects of his family and work life follow, before looking more closely at

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[280] An outline of the history of Papunya's establishment features in a major report into its future (Davis et al, 1977, pp. 13-24). Papunya was part of a network: 'Between 1937 and 1968 the NT Administration set up a network of settlements in which to train people for citizenship' (Rowse, 1998a, p. 147).

[281] Annual Report on the Northern Territory of Australia for the period 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements and Mission Stations, 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968. Department of the Interior, Canberra, 1970.

[282] Annual figures of Papunya's Aboriginal population in Davis, 1977, p. 133.

[283] Holcombe, 2004, p. 2.

three local developments: the Village Council, the dining hall and art classes. The aim here, given the paucity of Aboriginal oral history about Papunya in the 1960s, is to gather reflected views (snippets of information) of Namarari to appreciate some aspects of his situation. Some insights into day-to-day life were located in oral histories by Papunya's staff, for example those of a farm manager and nurse.[284] Consideration is given to the nature more broadly of the cross-cultural relationship between the government and the local Aborigines. Among them are the Pintupi, and among them is Namarari.

1 The making of Papunya

One of assimilation's strongest advocates, Harry Giese, recognised the immense task facing his Native Welfare Branch in the Northern Territory Administration (NTA), observing 'the march of civilisation will not be halted and natives cannot remain for ever on the fringes of the white communities'.[285] Audible footsteps in the march of civilisation had already sounded, including: the activities of pastoralists, missionaries and scientists on the western frontier; the rations regime; the engaging of Aborigines in local work-and-trade enterprises; sermons and schooling; and the push for natives to adopt a more sedentary lifestyle. The Commonwealth and the NTA devised a proactive program to encourage the native along a pathway to his (it was always 'his') eventual community acceptance as a fully assimilated native.

The process of assimilation was to be staged. The focus of the government's efforts in settlements would be upon 'resettling people to teach them to live in a permanent community' and provide 'welfare services, education and training'.[286] In such places natives would be introduced 'to the concept of work as a worthwhile aim' and 'the younger age groups prepared for a wider life outside the settlement and tribal community'.[287] Giese foresaw the need in settlements for sensitive, capable change agents: '(white) people trained specially to work with the natives who understand them and are sympathetic to what is being done for them'.[288] The Commonwealth activated its program through the funding of such settlements as

[284] Arnold and Betty Probin, Northern Territory Archive Service, TS743 and TS742 respectively. Recorded in 1993 in Alice Springs.
[285] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin. p. 26.
[286] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin. p. 8.
[287] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin. p. 8.
[288] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin. p. 6.

the ideal environment for its social engineering experiment.[289] In the late 1950s to early 1960s, Namarari could be the 'he' in Giese's statement:[290]

> The extent to which he will move into the wider community will vary according to the type of training course, and pretty much with the stage of development of the individual native. At the tertiary stage, where the young native goes out into the community to earn his living in his chosen vocation, working and living side by side with white Australians, the most difficult task will possibly have to be faced by the native himself and by those who will be seeking to assist his fuller acceptance by the community. [...] Now he faces the full impact of our society as an integral economic and social unit in that society.

Along with other men at Haasts Bluff, Namarari may have helped in Papunya's construction through various labouring roles.[291] During 1959-60 virtually all the Aboriginal people at Haasts Bluff were moved to Papunya.[292] According to Obed Raggett, 'some families did not want to move' and 'some people thought secretly that the cattle should be sent to Mt. Liebig or Limestone Bore, not the people to Papunya' (quoted in Davis, 1977, p. 159).

The construction of Papunya commenced in 1956 and it was ready for occupation in 1959.[293] The Hon. Paul Hasluck, Minister of Territories in the Commonwealth Government officially opened Papunya on October 1st 1960, though the settlement had been operating since March 1959. The original settlement represented a substantial investment of resources: '8 staff houses, nursing quarters, hospital, school, 2 dormitories, dining room/kitchen, a small store, 3 bores, electric power plant, street lighting, airstrip, communal ablution blocks/toilets, administrative block, 2 large garage/workshop buildings [...] significantly there was no ration store or cash store' (Davis et al, 1977, p. 16). The Papunya Settlement was staffed with a mix of white functionaries and managed by a Superintendent. Whereas Haasts Bluff had evolved over two decades, Papunya was purpose-built and ready for a population of 450 or so from day one.[294] Aboriginal employment rose too - in the early 1960s at Papunya there were about twenty to twenty-five white staff and some 180 Aboriginal workers on the

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[289] The capital expenditure for the construction of settlements and the provision of services was evidence of the government's determination, though that did not include 'a commitment to consult with the Aboriginal people of the area'. (Davis et al, 1977, pp. 22-23). There were twelve settlements in the NT by 1956. (The Northern Territory. Annual Report for year 1955-56. Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, Government Printer, Canberra, 1958. p. 35. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.ans-vn497673-1x-s8-e-cd> accessed 14-10-2011.)

[290] The Native Welfare Programme in the Northern Territory, H. C. Giese. NTRS1043, NT Archives Service, Darwin. p. 6.

[291] Jeremy Long, interview with author, November 17, 2010, Sydney.

[292] Some Pintupi were already camping there, which in part influenced the choice of Papunya as a settlement by the government (see Kimber, 1988, p. 66-67).

[293] Some Aboriginal families camped at the site during its construction (Davis et al, 1977, p. 15).

[294] Leaving 60 or so at Haasts Bluff (Davis, 1977, p. 18).

payroll.[295] The Haasts Bluff area was still utilised for the extension of the cattle project to train Aboriginal stockmen and provide beef for local consumption (Davis et al, 1977, p. 18).

Kimber (1990) reported a conversation (undated, possibly late 1970s) he had with some Aboriginal men of that era, Obed Raggett, Old Bert Tjakamarra and Old Mick Tjakamarra – traditional custodians of the local area - about their perceptions of the erection of the Papunya settlement in their domain:

> Several years after the mural had been painted the old men spoke of the Papunya country [...] The old men then discussed the building of Papunya Settlement, their voices angry, sad, confused at the ignorance of the trespassers who had bulldozed sacred trees, drilled a bore-hole into the heart of the ancestral honey ants' home, and committed unwitting desecration with every road, fence and structure they imposed on the land.

2 Namarari's Arrival

Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula remembered the move to Papunya and refers here to his uncle, Namarari:[296]

> Nearly everyone at Haasts Bluff moved to Papunya, some stayed back to work the cattle. I drove a big truck back and forth, many times, taking lots of things from Haasts Bluff to Papunya. That job took about one to two weeks. Uncle and me and many others then lived at Papunya.

Murphy said that work at Papunya included 'building the aerodrome, growing vegetables, getting timber, doing fencing, and working on houses'.[297] According to Murphy his uncle did lots of jobs at Papunya: 'he dug long trenches by hand to fill with the rubbish, then filled them in again with the sand to cover it. He chopped wood. He worked a lot'.[298] Namarari did not refer to mundane work at Papunya so much as travelling further north for ceremonial activities.

Interview extract 2a

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, where Namarari refers briefly to living at Papunya after leaving Haasts Bluff:

Namarari

I was an older man when I was at Papunya. xxx Ok we bin shift now Papunya. I was living there a long time and became an old man. I was living there

[295] Arnold Probin, Northern Territory Archive Service, TS743. Tape 1, p 17 and tape 2, p 20 respectively.
[296] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, November 21, 2007, Alice Springs.
[297] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with Ken Hansen, in 'Pastor Murphy Roberts' story', From Mission to Church (2002, pp. 226-28).
[298] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, November 21, 2007, Alice Springs.

and we used to go to Yuendumu with man making ceremonial groups. After the ceremony was finished we would come back again.

Kean

Did you go on foot?

Namarari

Yes, on foot, travelling no anything.

Kean

No trucks.

Namarari

No truck only donkey. All donkey.

Kean

They would take your things?

Namarari

Yes. I had one donkey. He would take off quickly on his own.

Kean

Would you ride the donkey?

Namarari

Yes, I would ride it donkey I used to ride on camel too. I used to ride horses as well. After we had come back from there we would stay at Papunya. Right, we were living there before canvas.

(End of extract)

Namarari provides a brief snapshot, using markers for time by implicitly referring to the 1960s period, which was after Haasts Bluff (1959) and before canvases (1971). He became an 'old man' at Papunya. Papunya's Farm Manager in the early 1960s, Arnold Probin, supervised its gardens and the Aboriginal workers. He also reported many instances of Papunya's Aboriginal residents going to Yuendumu and Areyonga for ceremonies and large groups of people from those places attending ceremonial activities at Papunya.[299]

Myers (1991, p. 227) reports that the performance of ceremony (*turlku*) is 'considered to be entertainment, as well as serious 'business', ritual is the substance of sociality in Pintupi communities'. Though references in his testimony to cultural practices throughout his adult life are fleeting, it seems Namarari maintained them, irrespective of where he was living or of government policies at the time.[300] Namarari's association with Yuendumu is significant. There is one further possible reason for his visits to Yuendumu, a Warlpiri settlement: Namarari's future father-in-law, Frank Bevan Tjupurrula, was a Warlpiri man from that region.

3 Walytja: the 1960s

The first part of this section uses a mix of records from the early to mid 1960s concerning Namarari and his family. In his interviews with Kean and Batty Namarari says very little about his life at Papunya and non-Aboriginal sources are useful. Namarari does not refer to his marriage to Wingulya, her presence at Papunya or her children in the Kean and Batty interviews (nor was he requested to speak about those topics).

Namarari's family was listed in the census in 1961 taken at Papunya:[301]

Mick Namarari Jabaljari	*born about 1926 at Ilbilba, tribe Kukata*
Wife Wingulya/Wenjilla Nagamara	*born about 1918 at Haasts Bluff, tribe Kukata*
Son Oswald Kamuta Jungarai	*born about 1938 at Mt Liebig, tribe Kukata*

Namarari is shown as 'born at Ilbilba' (Ilpilli assumed), which is incorrect based on Namarari's testimony (he was born at Marnpi). The spelling of Namarari's name has changed from Ngamuarie on the 1955 Haasts Bluff record to Namarari here. The subsection names Tjagaldjari and Tapaltjari used earlier by Tindale were replaced by Jabaljari, a reflection of changing linguistic conventions.

[299] Arnold Probin, Northern Territory Archive Service, TS743. Tape 1, p. 9 of transcript.
[300] Through the whole of my research project I never gained or was given the impression that Aboriginal cultural practices ever ceased in the Western Desert post-contact.
[301] NAA CRS E/944/0 Items Papunya 1,3, 4.

Namarari and Wingulya are listed as 'Kukata' tribe rather than Pintupi. Kukata (Kukatja assumed) were not residents of the Ilpilli area according to Tindale's tribal maps, which show Kukatja country to the southeast of the Ilpilli region. It is highly improbable that Wingulya was born at Haasts Bluff, though she lived there post the mid 1930s. In 1961 Wingulya's children were about twenty-seven (Melva) and twenty-five (Oswald) years old. Perhaps Melva is not listed here because she had married and moved away, having been identified as married to Tjala (a Warlpiri man and Namarari's son-in-law) on the mid 1950s lists. Oswald, a young man, is still listed with the family group, which suggests he was single.

Namarari's wife, Wingulya Nakamarra, was treated with 'tranquillizing drugs' in June 1960 at the Papunya Hospital'.[302] The reason for the treatment is unclear, though it confirms her presence in Papunya at that time (and Namarari's I would suggest) and that the hospital was therefore functioning before the Papunya Settlement was officially opened in October 1960. Wingulya was again treated at the Papunya Hospital in early 1962 and with her 'condition deteriorating' admitted to the Alice Springs Hospital, where she died on March 26,[th] aged forty-eight.[303] Following Wingulya's death, Namarari's status as an unmarried man may have allowed him to be absent from Papunya for some time.

In the mid 1960s a small group of Papunya's Aboriginal residents, including Namarari, departed Papunya to work a long way to the north at Beswick and Snake Bay (Snake Bay is on the coast of Melville Island, north of Darwin). The Director of the Welfare Branch advised the 'movement of Aboriginals to the Northern Division', travelling on 'new NTA buses from Alice Springs', listing twenty-nine people under Pitjantjara, Pintubi, Aranda, Wailbri, and Warramunga headings.[304] The list included these Pintubi people: Benny Natu, with wife Peggy and daughter Barny, Joe Jabananga, Ivan Jabarula, and Mick Ngamarari.[305] Subsequently, a District Welfare Official granted permission for travel from Snake Bay back to Darwin of 'Joe Jabananga, Mick Namarari, Ivan Jabarula for the funeral of Peggy Nanbidjina', noting 'it is anticipated that on arrival they will transfer back home'.[306]

That trip by Namarari ('aged 40', the oldest man in a group) to Snake Bay to work in the timber industry was most likely his first venture outside the Western

[302] NAA Series: F1/0 Item: 1965/368 Title: Papunya Settlement – Quarterly report 7. Inpatients Papunya Welfare Settlements Hospital.
[303] NAA Series: F1/0 Item: 1959/2838 Title: Medical Survey Papunya Settlement. The record indicates that Wingulya Nakamarra was born about 1914. She is listed on the Alice Springs Hospital 'deaths for the month of March 1962'. (NAA Series: E51/0 Item: 1959/41 Title: Alice Springs Hospital report (Part 4).
[304] NAA Series: F941/0 Item: 1964/573 Title: Employment – Transfer of Aboriginals from Southern Division to Northern Division. The director's letter is dated April 27, 1965.
[305] NAA Series: F941/0 Item: 1964/573 Title: Employment – Transfer of Aboriginals from Southern Division to Northern Division. The director's letter is dated April 27, 1965.
[306] Letter of letter of September 17, 1965.

Desert/Alice Springs region. It appears he was there from late April until late September 1965. The island was declared an Aboriginal reserve in 1944 and an afforestation program was developed in conjunction with a logging and sawmilling project.[307] Namarari's nephew, Murphy Roberts also spent a year working at Snake Bay and confirmed his uncle's trip:[308]

> Uncle went to work at Snake Bay. A group of men went, organised by the Welfare. They went by truck to Darwin and then on a plane to Melville Island. They did cutting and planting of trees. He went for maybe five months. I also went to Snake Bay and worked at the timber mill, cutting timber, and taking it by tractor to the port.[309]

The movement of people from Papunya was authorised and monitored by the Welfare Branch via communications between Branch staff in Alice Springs and Darwin. No records were located showing Namarari returned to Snake Bay for work or to other areas of the NT. The work trip might signal Namarari's desire to travel outside the region he was familiar with and undertake new ventures. Further, it may have fuelled his desire for more of the same.

Namarari makes no mention in his interviews of aeroplane travel prior to the late 1970s, thus the Darwin-Melville Island flight may have been his first. This is of interest because some commentary about Aboriginal art in the late 20th century highlights the 'aerial perspective' as an 'amazing' feature in certain paintings, whilst proclaiming the artists had 'never been up in an aeroplane'. Perhaps on that trip, the aeroplane's small window afforded Namarari a novel frame for looking at the country below. Not only did Namarari fly over land and sea on that venture to the north, he saw entirely different country to his own on the long bus journey between Alice Springs and Darwin, and on the island itself, where he also met another group of Aboriginal people and (presumably) learned something of their way of life.

The second part of this section uses a mix of records from the mid to late 1960s concerning Namarari and his family. Around this time the NT Welfare Branch noted in its annual report of 1965/66 (to the Commonwealth's Department of Aboriginal Affairs) that the settlements continued to provide 'experience and training in community living' and were 'developing into normal rural communities' (quoted in Davis, 1977, p. 140). It appears very optimistic in hindsight, if not misleading for political purposes, to suggest that the contrived existence for black and white alike at Papunya bore any resemblance to a normal rural community in Australia. It was artificiality personified.

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[307] NAA Series F1 Control Symbol 1969/2031 barcode 4087232.
[308] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, November 21, 2007, Alice Springs.
[309] Murphy Roberts also tells this story in *From Mission to Church*, 2002, pp. 226-28, recorded and translated by Ken Hansen in 2001.

In the 1969 census of Papunya residents Namarari is listed with the single men:[310]

Mick Ngamarari Jabaljari,	*tribe Pintupi, born about 1926*
Wingulya Nagamara, wife,	*born about 1918 died 1962*
Child Wenjilla	*born 1962, Deceased*
Child Melva,	*born 1935 step child. Husband is Yala*
Child Oswald Kamuta,	*born 1938 step child.*

The spelling of Namarari's name has been modified again, this time to Ngamarari and the spelling Jabaljari has been retained. The list shows the death of an infant Wenjilla, born in 1962: no other records were located of the child, nor does Namarari mention her in his interviews.

The 1969 census does not show the full extent of Namarari's family, for he adopted a young boy in the early to mid 1960s. Keith Butler Tjungurrayi was born in 1957 in Alice Springs and moved to Papunya at about six years of age.[311] Keith said a different stepfather 'grew him up first' but that man passed away, so he (Keith) went to Papunya. Namarari saw him and said, 'you're my cousin's brother's son' and so 'tjilpi[312] grew me up', that is how Namarari became his father. Keith said that Namarari was 'living in a humpy by himself' and 'single' and also 'lived with Melva and with his son-in-law Yala which is Melva's husband', adding 'Melva is my sister'. In Papunya whilst still a boy Keith sometimes went to visit tjilpi and 'he would always give me a blanket' and sometimes he'd 'go to Melva's and stay with her' and sometimes he'd 'go to Murphy Roberts', who lived in single quarters. Murphy advised previously that Namarari had also 'grown him up', referring to him in our discussions as 'Uncle', which is the equivalent English term for a Tjupurrula-Tjapaltjarri relationship.[313]

During the late 1960s many Pintupi (mostly New Pintupi) withdrew from Papunya and began living nearby, firstly at Waruwiya bore in 1968 for a year or so before returning to Papunya and moving out again in 1970 to Alumbra bore (Myers, 1991, p. 41). It remains unclear as to whether or not Namarari joined those movements. One other mention of Namarari living at Papunya in the 1960s comes from his nephew, Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula. Murphy says Pastor Petering was at Papunya and 'at Papunya uncle was a Christian and he went to that Church. Later on I went and did the pastor's program in Alice Springs and became a Pastor in the Lutheran Church'[314] (Murphy Roberts remains a Pastor). No church role was ascribed to Namarari by anyone interviewed for this project and no one else suggested he was a practising Christian.

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[310] NAA CRS E/944/0 Items Papunya 1,3,4.
[311] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.
[312] Keith and I used this Pintupi term for 'old man' during our interview to refer to Namarari.
[313] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, November 21, 2007, Alice Springs.
[314] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, November 21, 2007, Alice Springs.

4 Local developments at Papunya

This section highlights aspects of cross-cultural relationships at Papunya in the 1960s, beginning with official reports, and discusses three topics that linked into the assimilation agenda in differing ways: the Village Council, the dining hall and art classes. Namarari was a Papunya resident during the 1960s. Throughout that decade Papunya featured in the Annual Reports of the Northern Territory (see list[315]), published by the Commonwealth. They provide insights into how progress towards assimilation was recorded on the 'Settlements and Mission Stations', including Papunya. Progress of the Aborigines is summarised in the reports' appendices under headings such as 'Training', and 'Social Activities and Advancement'. Some examples follow.

The 1964 report highlights under 'Training': 'adult education classes in carpentry, first aid, baby care, personal hygiene, civics, and general education'. For successive years the Pintupi feature under 'Social Activities and Advancement': 'the older residents have taken great pains to advise the newly-arrived Pintubi group on settlement behaviour, particularly in the dining-room'. The 1965 report notes that 'the Village Council was formed late in the year' and 'three staff houses[316] were completed and work commenced on the construction of 70 stage-one houses'.[317] By the end of 1966 the report reflects local optimism: 'though many Aborigines still adhere strongly to tribal customs, social progress is becoming more noticeable'. The seventy stage-one houses 'were completed and

[315] The Northern Territory Report for 1958-59. App. XXVI. Activities of Government Settlements. Commonwealth Government printer, Canberra, 1961
The Northern Territory Report for 1959-60. App. XXX. Activities of Government Settlements, 1 July 1959 to 30 June 1960. Commonwealth Government printer, Canberra, 1961.
The Northern Territory Report for 1961-62. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements, 1 July 1961 to 30 June 1962. Commonwealth Government printer, Canberra, 1964.
The Northern Territory Report for 1962-63. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements, 1 July 1962 to 30 June 1963. Department of Territories, Canberra.
Annual Report on the Northern Territory of Australia for the period 1 July 1963 to 30 June 1964. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements and Mission Stations, 1 July 1963 to 30 June 1964. Department of Territories, Canberra.
Annual Report on the Northern Territory of Australia for the period 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements and Mission Stations, 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965. Department of Territories, Canberra.
Annual Report on the Northern Territory of Australia for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements and Mission Stations, 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966. Department of Territories, Canberra, 1967.
Annual Report on the Northern Territory of Australia for the period 1 July 1966 to 30 June 1967. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements and Mission Stations, 1 July 1966 to 30 June 1967. Department of the Interior, Canberra, 1968.
Annual Report on the Northern Territory of Australia for the period 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968. App. XX11. Activities of Government Settlements and Mission Stations, 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968. Department of the Interior, Canberra, 1970.

[316] For white staff.

[317] For Aborigines.

occupied'.[318] The 1967 report noted 'traditional customs are still strongly observed, particularly by the Pintubi residents, but are being adapted to suit settlement life' and 'the council continued to operate'. The 1968 report notes activities such as 'traditional ceremonies are still strongly observed and several initiation ceremonies were held', and one item not reported elsewhere: 'The Red Ochre group was in the process of transferring ceremonial objects from Papunya to Yuendumu and thence to Coober Pedy'.[319]

That dining-room manners were important enough to be reported by Papunya's administrators in annual reports is evidence of the Administration's focus concerning the detailed implementation of its extensive assimilation project. It is also the case that the continuation of ceremonies indicated the presence of sacred objects at or nearby Papunya. Myers reported on a 'storehouse of sacred objects' at Yayayi in the mid 1970s (Myers, 1991, p. 245). Given Namarari's seniority, experience with cross-cultural work and his place on the Village Council (see below), it is likely that he was engaged in local discussions about ceremonial objects. Hansen observed the continuation of ceremonial activities at Papunya in the 1960s (some of which he attended), but he thought that ceremonial activity associated with 'increase rites' at particular places in the desert decreased because 'there wasn't enough transport to go back to those places'. Even so, initiation ceremonies continued: 'man-making ceremonies have always been important and still are and they're part of the regulatory framework of the whole society'.[320]

Through the late 1950s to mid 1960s the Pintupi family groups who walked in or were brought in by desert patrols to Papunya from beyond Kintore and Kiwirrkura[321] became known as the New Pintupi. They were often regarded by black and white alike as unruly or wild people.[322] In contrast to individuals such as Namarari they had considerable difficulty adjusting to the bewildering settlement environment. Perhaps Namarari, as one of the Old Pintupi (from Haasts Bluff days) helped the new arrivals to adjust and cope, recalling that he had explained to Benny decades before, 'this is jam, this is for eating with whitefella damper, don't throw it away'. Namarari's 'set of ideas' had expanded: he had some familiarity with work, cash and rations, horses and guns, buildings and tools, clothes and paper, standing around and waiting to be told what to do by a boss. He knew something about

[318] Aboriginals were not given the opportunity to look at the town plan and make their own suggestions' about the layout, which must have puzzled them. (Davis, 1977, p. 79).
[319] No other reference to the Red Ochre group was located thus no association with Namarari can be considered. Coober Pedy is in South Australia.
[320] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[321] I interviewed Marlene Nampitjinpa and Jimmy Brown Tjampitjinpa in August 2011 about their travels into Papunya in the 1960s and their returns, including life at Yayayi. Also, see Johnson (2010, pp. 81-85) for an outline of the series of arrivals facilitated by the 'Pintupi patrols'.
[322] Myers (1991, pp. 42-44) acknowledges the 'divisions' between 'old and new' though they were 'closely related'.

whitefella behaviour and he knew how to survive in a settlement – that is, he knew 'the way of doing things'.

The linguist and Lutheran pastor Ken Hansen first went to Papunya in the mid 1960s and met Namarari.[323] Hansen remembers first seeing him in the late 1960s, recalling he was later on the Village Council and subsequently an artist. Hansen 'knew him and talked with him and had good relations with him'.[324] By the late 1960s Namarari had become more aligned to local Pintupi-Luritja-Warlpiri people according to Hansen, and did not live in the newly arrived Pintupi's West Camp in the 1960s, where Hansen had situated his own caravan for linguistic research. During that period Hansen noticed that Namarari lived closer to the community's centre 'because he had relatives in those areas so he identified more with the Loritja group'.[325] Namarari's camp made visible his choice about where he wants to live and who he wants to be with. Again, in relation to the finer details of Pintupi contact history, one must ask, 'which Pintupi people are being referred to?' because not all the Pintupi at Papunya lived at West Camp all the time.

Legislative changes extended Namarari's rights *vis a vis* his status as a citizen. In 1961 'a Select Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament was appointed to examine the voting rights of Aboriginal people' and 'recommended that the Commonwealth Electoral Act be amended to provide that the right to vote at Federal elections be given to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults' resulting in 'all adult Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders [being] granted the right to vote in Commonwealth elections' in 1962.[326] In 1964 'the Welfare Ordinance was replaced by the Social Welfare Ordinance 1964' which 'provided for the welfare of Aboriginal people in the same manner as other members of the community and the Register of Wards was abandoned',[327] and provided for the Director of Social Welfare's duties regarding the supervision, regulation and management of reserves (quoting the Social Welfare Ordinance 1964-1972 in Davis, 1977, p. 152). Thus, the 1962 amendments to the Electoral Act enabled Aborigines to vote (though enrolment was not compulsory) and the NT laws of 1964 allowed for consumption of alcohol by Aborigines (with certain restrictions). The policy of assimilation remained in place as citizenship rights were extended, and Papunya remained mostly out of the public gaze.

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[323] Ken and Leslie Hansen later produced the first Pintupi Luritja Dictionary. He worked as a linguist, translator and was a Lutheran Pastor.
[324] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[325] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW. Hansen uses 'Loritja' by way of spelling and pronunciation for 'Luritja'.
[326] www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/nt-guide/chapter8/index.html Viewed August 29, 2011.
[327] www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/nt-guide/chapter8/index.html Viewed August 29, 2011.

Whilst the white authorities were pursuing their assimilation policy, the Aborigines too had theirs, as Aboriginal groups at Papunya tried to interest visiting staff in the merits of their culture too:

> A first stage in their assimilation program for settlement staff is to have Europeans join them in hikes and hunting trips, and Europeans are early given "skin names". They encourage Europeans to learn their languages, and they welcome queries about their material culture. If the Europeans are interested they may even by further stages be brought into the full life of the group. There are Europeans who have been initiated and have come to participate to some degree in the ritual life. In doing this the Aboriginals are doing just what the Europeans do: they are declaring that their culture is worthwhile, and they are acting in ways that will, they hope, convince the stranger to want to become like them (Davis, 1997, p. 110).

A number of individuals who contributed to this study explicitly or implicitly described their relationship with Namarari in terms that reflect Namarari's intention to 'declare that his culture was worthwhile' and his willingness to bring them some way 'into the life of the group'. In those one-to-one relationships, which played out across various settings, Namarari performed the role of a cross-cultural educator, and it is likely that Namarari had already seen other Aboriginal men (such as the Aranda evangelists, Obed Raggett and Nosepeg Tjupurrula) playing similar roles. The question to apply at this point is: how did Namarari determine which whitefellas to attach himself to, to trust or to be bothered with, and then, how did he move from stranger-at-a-distance status to friends-sitting-together status? The fact that he recorded interviews with Kean and Batty is evidence of the transition in his friendship with them.

A 'village advisory council' was established in 1964 to 'advise the Superintendent' but had 'little impact' (Davis et al, 1977, p. 69). Hansen recalls Namarari was not a member initially of that body:[328]

> An Aboriginal Council was set up; whites used it to try to relate to things that Aborigines were interested in. It functioned as well as it could under the circumstances but chiefly it didn't have any authority. It was a means for the Superintendent and other whites to communicate with leaders in the community to extend their programs. So the Aboriginal Council could sort of 'ok' the program the whites wanted run; if they weren't very happy about it usually it got run anyway. Mick was on the Council at one stage later, not initially.

Namarari became a Papunya Village Councillor in the late 1960s[329] and still held the role when Geoffrey Bardon arrived in 1971. This is the first known cross-cultural position Namarari formally occupied. No written records have been located concerning the Council's activities or membership and Namarari's specific

[328] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[329] An election was held in 1968 where '104 persons voted and 10 councillors were elected' (Davis, 1977, p. 69). Perhaps they included Namarari.

involvement is unknown. The Council's existence was noted in the Annual Reports from Papunya (see above) and the report on Papunya's future in 1977 (see Ch. 5 in Davis et al, 1977). Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra[330] also remembers Namarari and Johnny Warungkula at Papunya 'a long time ago when she was young', recalling, 'they used to be called Village Councillors, looking after people like a Night Patrol'.[331] The VC lettering on the men's hatbands is visible in some of Bardon's footage filmed at Papunya.[332] Long Jack Phillipus Tjakamarra said the work of the councillors included 'stopping fights'.[333]

Myers notes that 'except for the recently introduced Village Council, neither specific governmental structures nor true 'leaders' exist' (for the Pintupi) (Myers, 1991, p. 219), so there was no comparable traditional Pintupi structure. The Village Council did not have a genuine authoritative role, according to Hansen,[334] because the Superintendent's authority was pervasive ('the boss of everything') while 'other white people employed Aboriginal people under training allowances at various tasks to occupy them such as cutting firewood or fixing fences'.[335] The government-appointed white staff and the Aranda people were the real community leaders, according to Hansen, 'as the latter knew how the white fella worked and they knew the Lutheran missionaries'.[336] In a reflection of Aboriginal land management the 'clan that claimed ownership to the land on which Papunya was built has claimed the right to make final decisions for the Papunya community' (Davis, 1977, p. 73). It was incumbent upon the Pintupi to negotiate their ongoing presence with Aboriginal owners, unlike the Commonwealth's approach wherein consultation with local Aboriginal people was assumed to be redundant.

Papunya's dining hall proved to be another site of discontent. Communal feeding began on settlements in the mid 1950s (for example, Long's lunchtime stews at Haasts Bluff). Rowse (1998a, pp. 152-3) perceived dedicated dining spaces – with communal feeding as 'the most important attempt by colonial authority to intervene in the Indigenous domain', because it was a means of control as it sought to diminish the Indigenous practice of 'small groups cooking and eating in their camps'. The change in the nature of social relations through that new practice was, he insisted, a way of 'asserting the superiority of the donor'. In Rowse's analysis, the 'donor-receiver' dynamic persisted into the 1960s, irrespective of changes in policy and political thinking. Papunya's communal

[330] She is introduced later as she became Namarari's young wife in the 1970s.
[331] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 6, 2011, Kintore.
[332] Viewed at the Tjukurrtjanu exhibition, National Gallery of Victoria, September 29, 2011.
[333] Long Jack Phillipus Tjakamarra, discussion with author, September 29, 2011, Melbourne.
[334] A view supported by Morice, the 'Aboriginal Council ostensibly makes decisions, but the presence of white permanent staff often negates these, either consciously or unwittingly. It is often argued that such Councils are a superimposed concept' (Morice, 1974, p. 940)
[335] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[336] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.

dining hall was ready in early 1959 with 'facilities to serve three meals a day to 600 people' (Davis, 1977, p. 78). It was a busy place. The hall features in a scene (black-and-white footage apparently from the 1960s) in *Benny and the Dreamers*, announcing the official rhetoric at the time: 'All Aborigines living on Government settlements in the Northern Territory receive three balanced meals a day. These are served in the settlement dining hall.' It is most likely that Namarari ate there on occasions with his friends and relatives through the 1960s, a practice at odds with their *murrani*.

There is considerable criticism of the practice of assimilation enacted in Papunya's dining room.[337] On the one hand the program aimed to teach Aborigines how to eat prepared meals in a new setting[338], on the other Aborigines and white staff were separated at mealtimes. What kind of messages might Aboriginal people have taken from such a practice, where mealtimes saw those who had been working together part company in a 'them and us' pattern, requiring 'them' to assemble at the dining hall and wait in line? As Hansen observes:[339]

> There was a big kitchen where the Aborigines ate every day. The whites all ate in their own homes. The Aboriginal people waited there for their meals, it was very debilitating, they sat there and waited for breakfast and they sat there and waited for lunch and they sat there and waited for tea. That was how the system ran.

Coincidentally, Rowse noted, it was Papunya that provided historians 'with the greatest number of examples of the limits of Branch authority over eating' (Rowse, 1998a, p. 156). Jeremy Long commented, 'there's no escaping the horror of the dining room' at Papunya.[340] However, due to another change in government policy the dining hall's days were numbered. Following the introduction of the training allowance scheme in 1969 'the dining room ceased to play an important role' because people could purchase food from the store and avoid the communal dining area (Davis, 1977, p. 78). One practice replaced another as people again 'voted with their feet' and deserted the hall in favour of their camps. Papunya's ten-year communal dining hall program was terminated and did not resurface.[341] The Commonwealth was beginning to realise that the Aborigines could not be micro-managed through structured (and expensive) social change programs.

The possibility that difficult-to-train natives in Papunya's dining hall would become accomplished artists was, I expect, beyond the contemporaneous white

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[337] Hansen observed the assimilation program included 'teaching people how to eat with knives and forks' and 'each Superintendent had an idea of what was best'.
[338] Generally referred to as 'manners' in the Annual Reports.
[339] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW.
[340] Quoted in Johnson, (2010, p. 86) from his interview with Johnson, 2000.
[341] When I visited Papunya on a field trip on November 5th 2009 the large original building and its kitchen annexe to one side were still standing, dilapidated, silent and empty.

imagination. Indeed, one of Papunya's farm managers, Arnold Probin, later commented that 'all my gardeners turned into artists. I couldn't believe it!'[342] Namarari was one such gardener at Papunya who 'turned into' an artist. Namarari seems to be the kind of person who kept himself busy and engaged in the local community, and since his time as a stockman, was accustomed to the practice and routine of work. What Namarari was demonstrating was a willingness to adapt alongside a determination to maintain a degree of control over his own response-to-colonisation change program. He, and the Pintupi, were practising self-determination, individually and collectively. Eventually, the Commonwealth will recognise their logic.

There remains one area of activity to consider at Papunya in the 1960s. It is art making, in the sense of making art or craft products for sale. The watercolourists or Hermannsburg painting movement, initiated in the mid 1930s, had continued with the production and sale of paintings at Haasts Bluff. The Namatjira family continued painting their watercolour landscapes at Haasts Bluff in the 1950s and perhaps in the 1960s at Papunya. There are no records of Namarari painting at Haasts Bluff, though Tindale's research group (in the mid 1950s) 'got four boys to make drawings' and 'their works show European influences to varying degrees'.[343] The boys were unnamed. It is reasonable to assume Namarari saw painting activities given the proximity of people's lives and the interest in finding ways to generate cash. Some of the men were making wooden artefacts for sale in the 1960s (see Johnson, 2010, Ch. 1) and Namarari was recognised as an expert boomerang-maker using traditional methods.[344] It is possible that he made wooden objects and sold them to local white staff or visitors.

Evidence of the sale of paintings at Papunya in the 1960s was difficult to locate though some men produced works of art and craft before Bardon's arrival (See Johnson, 2010, pp. 22-28, and Batty in Ryan & Batty, 2011, pp. 59-66). Johnson (2010, p. 7) shows that one individual (Kaapa Tjampitjinpa) was a 'practising artist in a western sense' before Bardon's arrival in early 1971. Bardon recognised that Kaapa 'had been a most enterprising and independent artist in the traditional manner' before his arrival (Bardon, 1986, p. 39), yet he also claimed that 'the painting movement began when I was teaching the Aboriginal children art and craft at the Papunya School in 1971' (Bardon, 1979, p. 13). Perhaps Bardon was making a distinction between painting as an activity and the painting movement that he helped to found.

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[342] Quoted in Johnson (2010, p. 89) from his interview with Johnson in 2002.
[343] SA Museum, AA338-4-34_019
[344] Confirmed to the author by Keith Butler Tjungurrayi and Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa.

There is anecdotal evidence of art sales at Papunya in the 1960s. Arnold Probin (Papunya's Farm Manager in the early 1960s) reported buying art at Papunya whilst employed there.[345] He recalled 'there were not many doing art at Papunya', which intimates that some *were*. Christine Guster, a nurse, spent most of 1968 stationed at Papunya's hospital.[346] Among her many photographs is one of several men sitting in a group, with an individual to one side who looks very much (to me) like Namarari. At Papunya she purchased a watercolour painting by Keith Namatjira,[347] after he offered to do a painting for her, asking 'what do you want?' She suggested 'Haasts Bluff', whereupon he sat outside the nurse's quarters and completed the landscape in about one day on discarded building material (apparently hardboard or plasterboard) that he scrounged nearby. The artist's initiative is noteworthy – he was touting for business and secured a paying customer with his confidence. As was the case in the 1950s at Haasts Bluff, white staff at Papunya in the 1960s had the opportunity to buy paintings from local men, giving those individuals the chance to garner a little cash through an artist-customer direct sale.

Jack Frawley (2003) makes a well-documented case for adult education's positive role in the NT, including its contribution to the development of art.[348] His study of adult education classes in the NT revealed that 'art classes, such as those held at Papunya in the 1960s and later elsewhere gave Aboriginal adults an opportunity to participate in activities that promoted cultural identity and cultural maintenance, which in turn, subtly subverted the aims of assimilation' (Frawley, 2003). He described two series of classes at Papunya and it is possible that Namarari knew of the classes because Papunya was a small place. The classes and the anecdotal evidence of sales (above) confirms that western art materials were in use at Papunya in the 1960s.

The first art classes at Papunya in 1964 for Aboriginal adults were conducted by schoolteachers. Emmerson's aim was to 'try to promote an interest in painting Aboriginal designs' while having 'no desire to create or change any natural talent on behalf of the Wards'. Lewis's proposal included 'painting a scene, copying a painting from a book, painting human figures and general painting'.[349] Giese

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[345] Arnold Probin, Northern Territory Archive Service, TS743. Tape 1, p 10.
[345] NAA CRS E/944/0 Items Papunya 1,3, 4.
[346] Christine Guster, interview with author, November 17, 2011, Canberra. She was given the kinship name Nangala at Papunya. An Aboriginal woman explained its kinship meaning with the aid of a diagram that Christine has kept.
[347] I inspected this painting at our interview. A pleasing composition in very good condition.
[348] 'Aboriginal education became the responsibility of Welfare Branch in 1956' for the NT, in a move strongly backed by Hasluck and Giese (Frawley, 2003).
[349] Giese approved their class for four hours per week for a six- week period. NAA F133 1964/161 Adult Education General, quoted by Frawley.

backed such proposals.[350] The second series in 1967 included a curious combination of art and gymnastics. Bourke's proposal for Art & Gymnastics (Women) was 'to develop existing art skills through the use of European media' in which some of the design work would be 'based on primitive motifs' with an emphasis on 'exploring colour'. Baram's proposal for Art & Gymnastics (Men) was 'to gather information on Aboriginal art symbols and catalogue them so that Europeans may learn them and be able to understand and preserve original Aboriginal art; and, to exchange art forms, so that Aboriginals may eventually interpret their stories in European format'. Baram based the art class on a method from which 'all the stories of one skin group will be drawn by Aboriginal men and as a new symbol is introduced it will be recorded'.[351] According to Frawley, Baram's class had the lofty aim of offering 'a means of cultural exchange, which would promote Aboriginal art to a wider European audience'. Evidently, some staff at Papunya in the 1960s envisaged a role for art in bridging Papunya's Aboriginal population to the world beyond its boundary.

In light of the Papunya classes it is interesting to re-examine the 'Pintupi pencil drawings' and 'water-colour brush paintings' in Bardon's opus (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, pp. 95-104) and ask: are these the works of unpractised beginners or the product of trained hands? I contend they reflect formal techniques that a classroom teacher would impart: working inside a frame, drawing a design in pencil and then colouring with a watercolour brush using paints, and making a unified or thematic composition on a flat surface. In particular, Anatjari Tjakamarra's drawings show exquisite skill – even Bardon notes the 'special quality of assurance when a 4B-grade pencil is used properly' – and Timmy Payungka's multi-coloured watercolour is complex, intriguing and resolved (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, pp. 97 and 103 respectively). Another intriguing incident was the presentation by the men to Bardon of 'designs pencilled on tiny pieces of paper' in 1971, around the time of the murals (Bardon, 1985, p. 39). Equally intriguing is Namarari's question to Kean when being shown men's drawings gathered by Tindale at Mt Liebig in 1932. Namarari says: 'This is his drawing. What did he do it with a pencil or a black coal?'[352] However, no direct evidence has been found regarding Namarari's involvement in producing pictures – drawings, watercolours or acrylics during the 1960s at Papunya. Whilst much has

[350] NAA F1/0 Papunya School – Adult Classes, quoted by Frawley.
[351] Both classes were approved by Giese although it is uncertain about 'gymnastics' as it was dependent on 'arrival of equipment'. NAA F1/0 1967/470 Papunya School – Adult Classes, quoted by Frawley.
[352] Part of their discussion about a number of images from 1932. Namarari interview with Kean, 1989.

been written about the genesis of the painting movement at Papunya in the early 1970s, the voices of Aboriginal men are mostly absent.

5 What's in a name?

The consideration of 'what's in a name?' proved more informative than anticipated, an indication that this topic (an individual's name) is a worthy object in cross-cultural biographical research. The individual subject of this biography had a number of known names. Rather than attend to the individual elements intermittently in preceding chapters, they are discussed here together: Mick, Namarari, Tjapaltjarri, and a fourth – *kalipapu.*

Firstly, to the first known entry into the written archival record of the nine year old boy photographed by the BAR group at Mt Liebig in 1932, whose data card was recorded by Tindale, identifying him as *Ngamarare purungu* (where the latter was the kinship subsection). Dick Kimber, who knew Namarari for many years, learned that the Mallee Fowl in Pintupi is 'Namara or Ngamara', and it is reasonable to assume that the name Ngamarare is associated with his place of conception or birth (see Myers, 1991, Ch. 2). Its significance to Namarari remains obscure; if it was his totem (in anthropological terminology) then it remained virtually absent from his artistic expression. Namarari did only one known Mallee Fowl Dreaming painting: 'Nganamarra Mallee Hen' in 1981 (MN810521).[353] The marks in that painting, according to Kimber, illustrate the scratching actions of the bird when building its large, mound-shaped nest and inspired the dancing steps of men in the corresponding ceremony.[354] The contemporary Pintupi-Luritja spelling for the mallee fowl is *nganamarra* (Hansen, 2011, p. 39).

At the time of Namarari's initiation he may have been given additional name/s for private use only.[355] A white station boss also gave him another name at that time for cross-cultural convenience, thus Namarari carried more than memories of new experiences back to Haasts Bluff from Tempe Downs, returning with a new name, 'Mick'. How did that name originate? Kimber knew that Namarari worked for the station owners at Tempe Downs and Bowson's Hole in the mid 1930s and understood that 'Many Aborigines derived their European or English names from the station families for whom they worked' and 'Mick Namarari got his name while working for W. (Billy) McNamara [...] Mick is a

[353] This is the only Mallee Fowl painting I identified in the catalogue raisonne research, but have not located an image.
[354] Dick Kimber, conversation with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs. He demonstrated the stepping action for me.
[355] Aboriginal men may have names that were not used in public settings or with non-Aboriginal people.

corruption of Mac, in the way that Mac is pronounced by many people as in Mc'.[356] The phonic similarity between McNamara and Ngamarare may have been a catalyst for the European-style naming of one of McNamara's station boys,[357] thus *Ngamarare* became *Mick Namarari*. Note though that the name Namarari was not derived directly from the station boss's name McNamara.[358]

I have now explained the origin of the names Purungu, Namarari and Mick. Another change involved the adaptation of the Aboriginal subsection naming system. In 1932 Tindale recorded aspects of the social organisation of the Pintupi and compared their classification system with that of the Kukatja/Luritja people.[359] The subsection Purungu within the Pintubi tribe correlated to *Tapaltjari* in the Kukatja/Luritja tribe. Smith's explanation (based *inter alia* on Fry's work at Mt Liebig) is that 'The contact period accelerated the transmission of new forms of social organization that had been diffusing from northern Australia over the previous century' and the Pintupi 'were in the process of adapting their skin names to the subsection system used by their Ngaliya/Warlpiri and Yumu/Kukatja neighbours' (Smith, 2005, p. 63). When Tindale visited Haasts Bluff in the mid 1950s he encountered Namarari again (whether directly or indirectly is unclear) and wrote an additional note on 'Sheet 2' (Tindale's' original 1932 genealogy record made at Mt Liebig).[360] That note confirmed the name 'Mick' was current and as well Tindale showed another variation of the subsection spelling in his note: 'now called Mick a big man now 1957 Tjagaldjari'. That individual was Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri. (See App. 3, p. 325, for all 8 subsections.)

In summary, variations of Namarari's names (as I show through the thesis) include: Purungu, Tapaltjari, Ngamarari 1, Mick Ngamuarie Tapaltari, "Mick" Ngamarari, Mick Namerari Tjapaltjarri, Mick Namarari Jabaljari, Mick Ngamarari, and Mick Namararri Tjapaltjarri. Papunya Tula records his name today as Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri.

Namarari also had an Aboriginal nickname quite different to the fore-going - *kalipapu*. He was often referred to by that name by older Aboriginal individuals during interviews for this project. It had the ring of affection and informality common between friends. It was not clear when Namarari acquired the name, though it seems to relate to many decades ago (perhaps the 1950s or 1960s). Leo Peterson (Namarari's grandson) said that Aboriginal people called his grandfather 'kalipapu or Namarari' and explained that *kali* means boomerang and *papu* was

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[356] Dick Kimber, correspondence to the author, November 2007.
[357] Aboriginal men working as stockmen were frequently referred to as the owner's boys, irrespective of whether they were initiated.
[358] This error occasionally appears, for example Johnson, 2008, p. 40; Perkins & Fink, 2000, p. 296.
[359] SA Museum AA338-1-8_0028
[360] SA Museum AA346-5-5_Mt Liebig_02

when he threw a boomerang, that is, Namarari would call out *kalipapu!* meaning, 'watch out for the boomerang, when he's fighting, you know, watch out for the boomerang'.[361] Leo added that Namarari made his own boomerangs. Keith Butler also said that his father (Namarari) was Pintupi and that kalipapu was his nickname, explaining '*kali* is a boomerang and *papu* is about something running'.[362] According to Keith, Namarari was 'good with boomerangs, he made boomerangs, he knows how to make boomerangs the old bush way, making a boomerang is very difficult, very hard'.[363] In one particular fieldwork conversation I noticed the group invariably used the name *kalipapu* to refer to Namarari when talking about their memories of his family at Browns Bore and Haasts Bluff.[364] In my interviews and discussions with Namarari's relatives for this project he was mostly referred to by the generic word for an old man, *tjilpi*.

Finally, to the way Namarari used European-derived names, as indicated within his recorded interviews. Namarari's travelling companion in the 1930s, Watuma Tjungurrayi, acquired the name 'Charlie' through interaction with Dr Charles Duguid in the mid 1930s, not through contact with station owners.[365] In the case of Watuma, it is significant that Namarari referred to him either by using a relationship term (*wapirra*) or with his Aboriginal name (*Watuma*). He did not use the given Christian name Charlie - Christian names were of little relevance to men such as Namarari because they were hollow concerning one's relationship to others.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have endeavoured to keep Namarari in view when a deficient oral history record makes that task difficult, though this more generalised account is a helpful preparation for comprehending Namarari's life in a period of considerable change through the 1970s. For Namarari and the Pintupi the desire to return to the west persisted and gathered pace in the late 1960s. The Pintupi once again voted with their feet, as they had done at Haasts Bluff (by camping intermittently to the west). To compensate for the mute record around what they were thinking, an eye can be kept on where Aboriginal people chose to camp, and who with. We should not mistake a limited fluency in English for an inability to communicate.

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[361] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, interview with author, July 29, 2011, Mt Liebig.
[362] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.
[363] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.
[364] Alison Multa and women at the Ikuntji Art Centre, discussion with author, Haasts Bluff, April 30, 2010.
[365] See Crocker, 1987, pp. 15-16.

Many English words Namarari used in the Kean and Batty interviews were probably learned in the 1930s-40s. It was as a boy and later as a young man that Namarari encountered white people and their work practices in various settings. Words probably originating through mission contact include: naked, shirt, trousers, damper, rations, flour, tea, sugar, lollies, plate, wheat, porridge, salt meat, Christmas flour, honey, pastor, God, whitefellas; and later through station work words include: saddle, train, trucks, cheque, money, paper, watch, match, house, job, work, shoot, revolver, stockman, half-caste, boss, mustering, cook, stockwhip, donkey, horses, brumbies. They are overwhelmingly concrete nouns. He had much more interaction with English-speakers at Papunya from the 1970s onwards, and most likely expanded his vocabulary and range (particularly associated with painting). The perception now of his English language capacity is reflected in the interview extracts in this thesis by the underlining of English words. Their usage suggests a comfortable familiarity as Namarari does not appear to struggle in incorporating those words and phrases into his sentences.

I have sought to interpret Namarari's place in his world through the medium of his names as a meaningful way to consider his interactions and aspects of his self-expression and identity. The name Mick was a cross-cultural artefact assigned to him by his first white boss. I contend that the Christian name had a dual purpose: to differentiate him from his fellows and to disassociate him from his cultural roots – 'Mick' was just another bloke among many blokes, all those 'bush natives'. In contrast, 'Tjapaltjarri' signified a cultural identity, forged by and acting within a network (wide and deep) of kinship affiliations and responsibilities. The persona Mick that emerged in his teenage years was a learned response in the unfolding colonised environment, expressing characteristics that he believed his engagement in the cross-cultural world required, notably with white authority figures: a boss could tell Mick what to do; Mick was given rations for his labour; Mick had to figure out how to use money; Mick should behave in such-and-such a manner within settlements, and so on. Mick learned that whitefella names were not as important as their roles (especially their expression of authority), for their names do not announce who the person is (their position). In sharp contrast, Tjapaltjarri metaphorically encapsulated his cultural *wati* self in an inextricable social web with *walytja* (remembering that Tjapaltjarri is one of eight subsection classifications). The identity and expression in relationships of a Tjapaltjarri man took precedence in his life, whereas what I characterise as 'Mick' was an adaptive addition learned sporadically through the late 1930s to 1960s. Becoming an artist entailed learning an additional sets of practices (that I discuss in later chapters), which was more complex than working as a stockman or a labourer, though such

experiences had already ushered Namarari along the path of assimilation that government and mission policies encouraged.

The individual Namarari had to negotiate his way through a multi-cultural (and some would say multi-religious) environment and contend with myriad observations, beliefs and behaviours, which he needed to monitor and employ for his survival and advancement in Pintupi and European modes of society. Aspects of life in the cross-cultural world were unpredictable and (as far as I can understand) for the Pintupi had no precedent. A course could not be set and followed blindly, rather one had to proactively find a way through. I perceive Namarari as becoming a successful navigator, and suggest that he utilised discernment to engender and negotiate friendships with whitefellas who had something to offer. Namarari's actions and choices suggest he understood more than perhaps he has been given credit for – and all this before his recognition and eventual success as an artist.

My view of the Commonwealth's assimilation project through the 1950s and most of the 1960s suggests that it overestimated Namarari's malleability, without comprehending such an individual's unavoidable dilemma: the persona Mick could not bring the identity Tjapaltjarri with him all the way on the road to absorption. The Commonwealth and its agents may have benefitted from some form of biographical studies of its target audience (or taken more note of extant anthropological studies), to comprehend Aborigines as autonomous and related individuals within their defining groups. The emphasis in assimilation policy on the individual is not surprising, as one of the assimilation policies main architects, the federal Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, is cast as 'a forthright exponent of liberal individualism', who 'assumed Aboriginal societies to be fragile, invariably collapsing on contact with outsiders' (McGregor, 2011, p. 79). McGregor's (2011) insightful tracing of assimilation's course in mid-twentieth century Australia suggests that the strong initial focus on individual transformation did give way over time to a recognition of the individual retaining more of their cultural heritage, though it is highly unlikely that neither the Commonwealth nor its agents spoke with Namarari in Pintupi to explain its thinking or consider his response.

This chapter's title (Line up here for a new way of life) needs a coda, for there was a shift in emphasis in Aboriginal affairs policy Canberra in the mid to late 1960s.[366] Public opinion, expert advice and Aboriginal activism had all

[366] Coombs surmised that 'Despite some developments in the Northern Territory…it was not until the referendum in 1967… that there was any serious thought given to how an Aboriginal minority might be accommodated' (Coombs, 1994, pp. 19-20).

contributed. According to McGregor, a significant administrative change prompted by the 1967 referendum was the creation of the Council of Aboriginal Affairs (members: B Dexter, HC Coombs and W Stanner). It proved to be 'the Canberra-based engine room of policy reform' (Rowse, 1998b, p. 85) and had three aims according to Coombs: 'to strengthen the sense of Aboriginal Australians as a distinctive group…' […] a more 'secure future' for Aboriginal citizens {and] 'to open the doors of opportunity in all fields of endeavour…' (McGregor, 2011, p. 166). By the late 1960s the new federal Minister for Territories (CE Barnes – Hasluck had moved to Foreign Affairs in 1963) was 'urging cultural retention to promote assimilation', and by the end of the decade 'government statements on Aboriginal affairs flipped between 'assimilation' and 'integration', making no clear distinction between them' (McGregor, 2011, pp. 117-118). In any event, the debates surrounding assimilation gave way to a renewed effort directed at Aboriginal self-determination, an indication that the government was cognizant of the need for moving its policies forward.

In the next chapter I will introduce what perhaps was an unexpected development, the beginnings of the men's painting movement at Papunya. The product of serendipity more than official intent, it was about liberation and control, about informal friendships and the management of formal agendas, and about a new means of communicating across cultural boundaries. The making of paintings as commodities would become another contact story, another venture on the frontier - that space where black and white met face-to-face without knowing the outcome of their encounter in advance.

Chapter 6

Doors opening, the early 1970s

The transition from the 1960s into the 1970s coincidentally marked a policy change. Early in the 1970s the Commonwealth 'abandoned assimilation as a goal and adopted self-determination' (Attwood, 2005, p. 26). Rowse considers that Prime Minister McMahon's Australia Day (January 26th) statement of 1972 'can be interpreted as the moment when 'assimilation' was renounced as government policy and replaced by… it is not clear what' (Rowse, 1998a, p. 204). The term 'self-determination' had been used increasingly from the late 1960s and was adopted by the Labor government of 1972-75 (Rowse, 1998a, p. 205). McGregor views the strategy of the Council of Aboriginal Affairs as seeking to 'cultivate an Indigenous leadership with firm roots in local communities, and through these leaders advance the Aboriginal people's capacity for self-determination' (McGregor, 2011, p. 167). Labor's Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, announced new land rights legislation for Aboriginal people, notwithstanding that Europeans in Australia had not signed treaties with indigenous peoples (Ashton & Hamilton, 2009, p. 93). The policy makers recognised Pintupi determination at a local level too, as there was an 'increasing acceptance by Department of Aboriginal Affairs officials that the Pintupi desires to return to their homelands were strong' (Amadio & Kimber, 1988, p. 72). Policy support grew for the idea of outstations: family-based dwellings on Aboriginal-controlled land, away from the more insidious elements of large-scale settlement life. Rowse's question as to 'what is the 'self' in self-determination?' may be reflected upon in relation to Namarari, as he (Rowse) saw 'three possible choosing agents: the individual, the family/household and the community' (Rowse, 21012, p. 188). I proffer a fourth possibility – a small coherent group of countrymen – which emerges in this thesis through recognising a grouping of close kin centred on Namarari, Turkey Tolson, Johnny Scobie and George Tjangala as a more or less cohesive decision-making unit ('choosing agent') visible through the early 1970s to mid 1990s.

Papunya became a regional hub for the outstations (or homelands movement). A list of Pintupi movements to and from local outstations appears in Davis (1977, pp. 117-9) though Hansen[367] provided a slightly different sequence

[367] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh, NSW. The first outstation in the early 1970s was about 20 klm. west of Papunya, northeast of Yayayi, at 'Yulumbaru' - the name of some hills near Papunya – and called 'Lambra' bore by the whites. Waruwiya was located further west, after both Lambra bore and Yayayi bore communities had 'broken up'. However it was to

and McMahon[368] added a refinement for the late 1970s. During the mid to late 1970s Kimber worked closely with the Pintupi, and considers that Nosepeg Tjupurrula was a key figure: 'Nosepeg talked to the major government officials and had a capacity to get what he wanted. Such people often thought *he* was doing *them* a favour! He was the most important man in getting outstations further out west'. According to Kimber, Namarari was not a leader in the Papunya-based outstations movement.[369]

This chapter sees the introduction of two tropes that will continue to feature in all remaining chapters. Firstly, the 'painting relationships' focus on Namarari's association with Papunya Tula's staff, which I argue was a cornerstone of his art career and a significant factor in the production of a substantial body of work. (His relationship with Bardon, which preceded PTA's establishment, is treated as a forerunner to his association with PTA.) Secondly, the 'painting stories' serve to illustrate aspects of Namarari's art practice by drawing upon my formal analysis of individual works (see list on p. viii), my interviews with PTA staff and others, art history and the PTA archive. The painting stories make particular points and are intended to have a cumulative effect, rather like the pictures in a gallery exhibition. My objective references Myers' observation regarding the art of a Pintupi contemporary of Namarari, Uta Uta Tjangala:

> We cannot know what an artist like Uta Uta was making in any one image unless we have secure knowledge about an oeuvre of work. Work in the archive, ethnographic or otherwise, is a necessary precursor to understanding and fuller appreciation. Being there is not enough. One needs the distance of the series, to look backwards and forwards, to understand what has been done (Myers, 2011, p. 40).

I contend that Namarari had a rich inner foundation upon which to build a commercial artistic practice (which is not to say it was an inevitability). Namarari was familiar (prior to 1971) with working for a boss and being paid in rations or cash. At least two cash-producing options were familiar to him as 'work' (either by observation or experience): to do a physical activity (for example, stockwork or labouring), or to make something (for example, artefacts and paintings). Namarari and his contemporaries realised it was the whitefellas who supplied work and money at Papunya, both of which were sources of an individual's influence and power. Work and money were elements of the whitefella domain with no direct equivalents in Pintupi culture.

Yayayi that the Pintupi majority moved in 1973-4. More specifically it seems that the recent arrivals from the west – the 'new Pintupi' – were those to relocate to Yayayi.

[368] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012, Sydney.

[369] Collation of interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs. (original emphasis)

The chapter opens with a consideration of Namarari's background pertinent to becoming an artist. The section on painting relationships examines aspects of Namarari's association with Geoffrey Bardon and Peter Fannin and highlights the key sponsorship role played by the Aboriginal Arts Board. The chapter continues with the *walytja* (family) theme of the biography, where Namarari's second wife is introduced. The painting stories draw on individual paintings to illustrate or complement aspects of Namarari's life or career as a contribution to biographical research from another data source: art. The matter of restricted imagery in paintings being viewed publicly, generally glossed as the 'secret/sacred' issue, is also introduced.

1 On becoming an artist

Namarari was familiar with painting as an activity before Bardon's arrival at Papunya in 1971. However, he most likely had not produced paintings for sale. Commercial art making is understood here against a background that begins with Namarari's cultural status, having already considered (in the previous chapter) the possibility that Namarari was familiar with commercial painting at Haasts Bluff and Papunya. As an adult Namarari said that Aboriginal people of the Western Desert 'are all descendants of those who were born from the dreaming' (Batty, 2007, p. 26), so that is a starting point. Namarari's familiarity with Albert Namatjira's art and his brief comments about the early days of painting at Papunya are then examined.

Namarari's connection to the Dreaming began with his parents.[370] Tindale recorded details for the boy Ngamarare in 1932.[371] Namarari's totem is shown as 'mallu = takanba'[372], where 'mallu' is most likely a word for kangaroo and 'takanba' may refer to his father, Takantjurkurrupa,[373] indicating perhaps that the son had his father's Dreaming affiliation (Takantjukurupa reads as 'Bandicoot-Dreaming').[374] Whilst Tindale translated Takantjurkurupa as 'little rat', in Namarari's paintings concerning Tarkan (alt. Takan, Takun) the animal cited is a bandicoot. Namarari, as an artist, produced a number of paintings relating to the bandicoot in 1987, 1989 and 1995.[375] Johnson (2008, p. 228) states that another of

[370] I am not discussing here an alternate view that asserts Aboriginal people's spirits are reincarnations from prior lifetimes, as I cannot reliably trace Namarari beyond his birth this time around.
[371] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H23 p2
[372] With 'lur' or 'lor' written under 'mallu' and 'pitj' written under 'takanba', presumably referring to Luritja and Pitjantjatjarra respectively.
[373] Takantjukurupa is elsewhere identified as 'Palarnnya from Marnpi' (Johnson, 2008, p. 40).
[374] Myers (1991, p. 131): 'people are often referred to in terms stressing their identity to The Dreaming'.
[375] Identified by the author in the assembling of Namarari's catalogue raisonne: MN871140

Namarari's fathers, Katinkura[376] (Tjungurrayi) had traditional country at Ilpilli and Nyunmanu, and was the father of Cameron Tjapaltjarri. Both Cameron and Namarari (classificatory brothers) each painted the *Papa tjukurrpa* (Dingo Dreaming story) at Nyunmanu, so it may be that Namarari inherited those rights from Katinkura. That site for the Dingo Dreaming, Nyunmanu, is in walking distance of Namarari's 1980s outstation.[377] Along with the nearby site of Marnpi he frequently referred to that area as 'my country'.

Namarari's mother's name Meiyenu (alt. Meijenu) may be translated in part as 'food' (mei).[378] Her birthplace in Tindale's records is 'Lorongongora' and he identified her as 'Pijintara', thus the location of her birthplace was possibly in Pitjantjatjara country (to the south and east of Pintupi country). One painting by Namarari from 1976 (MN76405) was related to the site 'Linga-goora-dana' and may indicate a connection to his mother and another painting was for the site 'Linga kuran' (MN780902). The closest-sounding site name that Namarari painted stories for is 'Lingakurra', located south of Kintore and west of Marnpi. I estimate that Linga-goora/Linga kuran/Lingakurra is the same place.

In Kean's interview Namarari suggested he was familiar with Albert Namatjira's art before living at Papunya, and he offers an interesting if not controversial opinion about Namatjira's paintings. Kean continued to show photographs to Namarari as they conversed (and Kean checks first if he can state a deceased man's name).

Interview extract 1a

Extract from Kean's audio interview with Namarari, highlighting his sighting of Namatjira's art at Hermannsburg and his interpretation:

Kean

The one who belongs to Hermannsburg? xxx Did you see him?

Namarari

'Tukunpa' a small marsupial, a rabbit-eared bandicoot, at Pinpirnya, referred to as his father's country, north-west of Kintore. 'Bandicoot dreaming Takanpa' (MN890117). 'Takanpa' (MN890910). 'Bandicoot Dreaming' at Takunpa' (MN890423). 'Father's dreaming' at Tarkinpara (MN950677) and at Tarkarnpa (MN950740).

[376] Katinkura's face adorns the cover of Crossed Purposes (Folds, 2001.

[377] I visited the (then deserted) outstation with Namarari's widow, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, on July 30, 2011 as part of a field trip to Kintore, but not the site Nyunmanu.

[378] Pintupi/Luritja dictionary, 3rd ed., KC and LE Hansen, 1992, p. 227.

Yes. We were young men.

Kean

Will I say his name?

Namarari

Yes.

Kean

Albert Namatjira.

Namarari

Yes that's the one. Yes he was an old man here.

Kean

You know him?

Namarari

I have seen all these ones. Mikini[379] *xxx*

Kean

What do you think? They used to work. And the whitefella used to pay them. Do you know about those artists?

Namarari

I was living then and I knew about them. I was not ignorant about them. That same one (KH: Albert) *was doing it first pictures with hills in them. I used to see them at Hermannsburg as a child. They were inside a building. He used to do hills. Like from here he would paint that hill over there. That was his work.*

[379] This word is unclear.

Kean

So he would sit down and paint the hill over there.

Namarari

Yes.

Kean

And look at the hill.

Namarari

This one, he can make 'em this one. xxx

Kean

True?

Namarari

It was him xxx Annyali xxx (Haasts Bluff hill)

Kean

Maybe Warumpiyi (KH: the small hill five miles east of Papunya)

Namarari

Warumpiyi might be no again. Maybe he did do that. But I don't know. That old man he finished up doing his work. He did not do any other work after that. He just painted hills. His family did that.

Kean

His sons.

Namarari

Yes his sons. I used to give him food.

Kean

You used to give to him?

Namarari

Yes I used to give him food.

Kean

He got tired. The whitefellas thought that he was a very good artist.

Namarari

This one.

Kean

But now the whitefellas think that Papunya Tula artists are number one.

xxx

Namarari

Yes we are. There are artists Papunya, artists Kintore. There are two places now. He only used to paint hills all the time and after that he died as an old man. There were artists back then. Not artist's hills. They only painted hills.

Kean

No painting of dreamings.

Namarari

No dreamings. This is that old man. He's gone.[380]

(End of extract)

Namarari's comments about Namatjira's art practice are of interest because Namarari perceived them as 'pictures with hills in them' and not 'Dreamings'.[381] Thus, Namarari knew about at least one Aboriginal artist, Albert Namatjira, and his work before 1970, which have at least suggested the possibility to Namarari of becoming an artist. However, he did not seem to be influenced by Namatjira's imagery in his subsequent art practice. It is also notable that Namarari readily agreed with Kean's prompt that Papunya Tula artists were the best ('number one' in Aboriginal English) in 1989.

Kimber believes that Namarari 'knew his authority and knowledge from ceremonies and was a senior man based upon all his life experiences', and Marnpi 'was most important country to him'.[382] As part of his cultural upbringing Namarari 'would have seen rock art' as 'there are a number of sites with rock art in and around Pintupi country'.[383] Namarari was 'painted up himself' and was involved in 'helping prepare other men for ceremonial activities, which included preparing and applying natural paints, such as red and yellow ochre mixtures'.[384] Kimber's engagement with Aboriginal people and with Namarari enabled him to appreciate Namarari's cultural education:[385]

> Through the ceremonial and other activities he formed special and lifelong relationships that dictate how he attended to his responsibilities and obligations. He spent a lot of time talking about special sites with senior men and received their instruction, thus learning the Men's Law about the country he had known in his childhood and the Dreaming stories that bring it to life. Men such as Nosepeg Tjupurrula, Shorty Lungkata Tjungurrayi and Charlie Watuma Tjungurrayi were involved.

Namarari's cultural education and ceremonial participation constituted a significant personal wealth of knowledge that was mostly beyond the gaze of the whitefellas. The consequences of Namarari's work experience and cultural education from an art-making point of view are significant. Firstly, he had the authority and the culturally-derived rights to *subjects to paint,* a function of the *tjukurrpa* and his *wati* status; secondly, he saw *painted images*, for example, on rock surfaces and ceremonial objects; and thirdly, he *experienced painting* as a felt action, for example, in the painting of men's bodies, including his own, for

[380] Namatjira spent part of 1959 at Papunya as part of a sentence for supplying alcohol to Wards and died in Alice Springs inn August that year. (see Batty, 1963, Ch. 14)
[381] There is one note of doubt to consider here. Since Rex Battarbee also exhibited his watercolours at Hermannsburg in the 1930s, it might have been his 'pictures with hills in them' that the boy saw.
[382] Collation of interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.
[383] Collation of interviews with Dick Kimher, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.
[384] Collation of interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.
[385] Collation of author's interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.

ceremonies. These phenomena occurred before 1971 (and continued beyond 1971), engaging him by sight, sound and touch with *painting* as a personal and inter-personal activity, which at times had a restricted dimension. Thus, Namarari acquired familiarity with painting materials, the painted object, the act of painting, some audience(s) for the act, and the process of producing painted images on flat surfaces in both social (public) and ceremonial (private) settings *before 1971*.[386] PTA staff reported that Namarari often sang as he painted.[387]

In the cross-cultural act of making paintings for sale, Namarari-as-artist was simultaneously the interpreter of remembered or imagined imagery and the designer of its revealed external form. He knew that paintings could be a source of cash, just as they had been for Namatjira and other watercolourists at Papunya and Haasts Bluff. Though Namarari was to have a long career as an artist, he made only brief mentions of it in his recorded interviews. In the following two extracts Namarari recalls Bardon's involvement and the 'pieces of wood'. His references to money suggest it was an unresolved or misunderstood issue for him, which I take up in the post-extract commentary.

Interview extract 1b

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, having confirmed that he was living at Papunya:[388]

Namarari

Right, we were living there before canvas. At the first he would give us box to paint on.

Kean

Where did he give those to you?

Namarari

At Papunya. We would paint him box. Who was it that gave them to us?

Kean

[386] In my estimation this is true for all the senior Aboriginal men at Papunya, including those who did not take up painting in the painting movement.
[387] Interviews with the author for this project.
[388] Kean noted a small part of the taped conversation here as 'irrelevant' so I removed it from this transcript. He thinks Namarari 'confuses things' as canvases came with Fannin, after Bardon's time.

Geoff Bardon.

Namarari

Yes, Geoff Bardon. Whitefella.

Kean

Did that whitefella paint?

Namarari

He used to give us pieces of wood. Wooden sheet which had fallen down from the ceilings of old buildings.[389]

Kean

Did you all cut it up?

Namarari

No, He would do that. Geoff.
(End of extract)

Namarari remembers the wooden offcuts ('box') that served as the first boards in 1971 and did not seem to recall Bardon's name.

Interview extract 1c
Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari:

Namarari

He used to give us little bit money for the paintings.

Kean

[389] I cannot discern if any of these words are in English.

What do you think? Why did he give you pieces of wood? What was his idea?

Namarari

Maybe he had another idea, we did not know about that, we just paint. Maybe he was thinking about something else.

Kean

Were you all happy about that painting?

Namarari

Yes little bit happy. How much get money Geoff?

Kean

Just a small amount. xxx

Namarari

xxx painting xxx box Nosepeg.

Kean

Whereabouts at Papunya did you all paint?

Namarari

At the school. xxx He used to give us little bit money.

Kean

There were Arrarnta, Luritja, Anmatjirra. xxx

Namarari

Kaapa Tjampitjinpa, they all were there painting box together. xxx Ronnie's group, I, and Twobob.

Kean

Is that true?

Namarari

Yes. xxx

Kean

Where did Geoff sell them?

Namarari

At that same place (KH: where they painted them). *That is where Geoff used to sell them.*

Kean

Did he sell them to other whitefellas? xxx

Namarari

He used to gather them up and he must have taken them somewhere. Somewhere might be sell them that way.

Kean

Alice Springs, city.

Namarari

Maybe in the city. xxx Then he started giving us canvases.[390] *They were our painting. No box then.*

After a brief detour in the conversation, Kean continues:

Kean

Geoff Bardon was there for a while.

Namarari

For a while, might be one year.

Kean

Oh not too long.

Namarari

One year. We said no, because he did not give us money. xxx (KH: We used to paint) *near the school. We used to do it on flat pieces of wood box. Sized like this, others were long. He did not give us any money, little bit money.*

Kean

Twenty dollar each

Namarari

Ten dollar twenty dollar thirty dollar. What did we think?
(End of extract)

Namarari identified Bardon as the provider of materials and the seller of the paintings. He shows two concerns here. The first was the concern or residual confusion about payment (money for paintings), mentioning it five times and searching for an explanation from Kean. According to Namarari the issue led to

[390] Kean marked the transcript here: 'Mick confuses things here, canvases came later with P. Fannin.' However, Namarari did do two paintings on canvas in 1972, now in the NGV Collection.

(some men) 'saying no' to Bardon because 'he did not give them money', inferring that some men were dissatisfied. There appears to be 'unfinished business' or misunderstanding in Namarari's mind about money from the sale of paintings and Bardon's role.

Secondly, contrary to the much publicised narrative regarding the initial production of art at Papunya, Namarari did not seem to comprehend Bardon's purpose, given his statement: 'Maybe he had another idea, we did not know about that, we just paint. Maybe he was thinking about something else'. There seems to be a disconnect here: Namarari produced over 100 paintings during 1971-72, the majority with Bardon nearby, yet in 1989 he had difficulty describing Bardon's role beyond the provision of materials and taking paintings away to sell. There is a case for further research on two topics about the genesis of the art movement at Papunya: the level of the men's comprehension of Bardon's motivations, and the motivations of the men themselves, articulated in their own languages.[391]

2 Painting relationships

Namarari was prolific during 1971-72. The Stuart Art Centre[392] (SAC) register listed sixty-six paintings by Namarari in its twenty consignments (between July 1971 and August 1972[393]) from Papunya. I identified an additional thirteen works associated with SAC provenance painted between early 1971 and mid 1972 for a revised total of seventy-nine. There was an unspecified number painted in the 'interregnum' between mid 1972 (Bardon's departure) and late 1972 (PTA's establishment) and fifteen works were identified at the outset, which grew to twenty-four through this project, including two joint works (with Tim Leura and Long Jack Phillipus). The updated total of Namarari's output for 1971-72 is therefore 103 works. Namarari also produced paintings that were sold locally and not itemised in the early 1970s (thus not counted here). Virtually all (if not all) the paintings from 1971-73 were produced in Papunya. The search for Namarari's 1971-72 paintings is ongoing and quite possibly more will be found.

The first painting relationship to consider is that between Namarari and Geoffrey Bardon. The focus here is a new friendship between a recently graduated enthusiastic schoolteacher and an older Pintupi man. Bardon was the first known direct influence on Namarari in terms of presenting opportunities for him to

[391] The interviews with numerous Aboriginal men by Kean, Batty and Myers could be extracted from the archives and translated as part of a reinvigorated study of Papunya's social and art history.
[392] Stuart Art Centre register, PTA archive, Art Gallery of NSW Library, viewed October 2009.
[393] Pat Hogan, in Dot & Circle, 1986, p. 55.

produce paintings with western materials, and sell them was Bardon.[394] Bardon's engagement at Papunya during 1971-72 with the men as a facilitator of their painting enterprise sprang from his broader intention to engage with the local Aboriginal community. Bardon has written extensively about his experiences (1979, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2004) in contrast with the majority of PTA's staff (Kimber and Kean are the exceptions).

Bardon met Namarari at Papunya in February-March 1971 'when he was one of four Village Councillors, along with Johnny Warungula Tjupurrula, Kingsley Tjungurrayi and Old Paddy Tjangala '.[395] Sharing Bardon's house at Papunya in 1971-72 was a fellow schoolteacher, Peter Fannin, who remembers Namarari visiting their house for 'beers and conversations' and being 'a wonderful bloke, though quiet' but does not recall the things they talked about.[396] Namarari's strategy, in my estimation, was to make contact with the new white teachers to determine whether they might be of any practical benefit (the provision of resources) or companionship (some relief from Papunya's tedium). With very little structured work for Aboriginal men to occupy their time, social activity with relative privacy at the teacher's flat may have been pleasant. The Bardon/Fannin dwelling is the first known white staff house where Namarari was made welcome.

Bardon believed that he and Namarari shared a concern for each other's well being. On one occasion Bardon brought gifts (a knife and second-hand clothes) to Papunya for Namarari and 'good news of my life and stories to share so he would not worry' (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 460). On another occasion Bardon provided Namarari with a tape-recorder and traded it for a painting.[397] The interpersonal trading emerged in spite of the government's assimilation program of sanctioned work activities and was perhaps out of sync with the formal timetable, because paintings-as-tradable-items gave their makers an agency whose potential was as yet unclear.[398] It may have been through his interactions with Bardon that Namarari learned to barter paintings for goods in lieu of cash:

> One time, looking at the ground, he whispered 'tape record'. After some questioning it worked out that he wanted a tape recorder. He often reminded me of this request and offered me a large painting as a payment. I had been collecting works since the beginning of the school and this type of arrangement suited the painters[399]. After I had delivered the tape recorder, swathed in plastic sheeting, Mick's eyes watered. After seeming to

[394] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.
[395] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.
[396] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[397] Namarari's reasons for wanting a tape recorder are not known.
[398] I am suggesting this because I did not see anything in the assimilation rhetoric promoting efforts at places like Papunya to impart entrepreneurial skills to the Aboriginal men.
[399] I expect that the arrangement also suited Bardon as it allowed him to set the value at which he exchanged items for paintings in lieu of cash and provided the men with items not available to them in Papunya. Interpersonal exchanges reinforced friendships and could be a sign of mutual appreciation.

> understand its workings, he and a friend went away by themselves and sat in privacy behind a water tank to enjoy the music. For a time he regularly carried the tape recorder in the plastic, attending it gently as if it were a child (Bardon, 1979, p. 50).

Bardon made himself available socially, for example, by taking some of the men on hunting expeditions in his Kombi van.[400] He noted that 'Mick loved anything to do with getting food, like the kangaroo [...] He had a shotgun and on some nights we had success'.[401] He noted that two regular members of the expeditions, Johnny Warungkula and Namarari, were very interested in the paints he had in his classroom and living quarters.[402] The men had 'a great deal of spare time and an urge to paint' (Bardon, 1991, p. 23) that is, they had two prerequisites for action: opportunity and motivation. The men knew the potential of Bardon's resources (the paints), having shared another resource (his vehicle) in a men's-only pursuit (kangaroo hunting), which incidentally is a tactic the men used to access their country (viz. get a whitefella to take you). The men were building an alliance with Bardon, step by step.

Though Bardon continued to perceive Namarari as a quiet man he noted that Charlie Tarawa in contrast 'spoke in a husky voice and adopted the position of spokesman for the younger Pintupi men, since Mick Numieri Tjapaltjari and Old Walter Tjampitjinpa had almost no conversation' (Bardon, 1979, p. 44), which I take to mean 'almost no conversation in English'. What Bardon could not have comprehended was the men's conversations in their own languages. However, he actively observed the men's individual characteristics, once describing Namarari as 'a modest and humble man... always unobtrusive in our discussions of his work and when he had occasion to say anything to me, he usually spoke a one-sentence statement, implying some question' (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, pp. 77-8). I suspect that Bardon was seeing the adapted cross-cultural face of Namarari, the persona 'Mick' that had learned to make requests of whitefellas tentatively because he never quite knew how they would react. Bardon became so attracted by some aspect of Namarari's life (or art or culture or character) that he made a film about him in 1978 (se Ch. 8).

Bardon 'tried to get the men painting their stories, to develop technical skills with their quality materials, whilst focusing on the key ideas of the design, the pattern, the dominance, the repeating rhythms'.[403] He 'reinforced the ideas of knowing how to catch the eye and knowing when to stop' and believed that 'some

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[400] Bardon's photograph shows one group, including Namarari, after the hunt in 1972 (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 347).
[401] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.
[402] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.
[403] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.

artists are good because they keep it brief'.[404] Bardon's approach and vocabulary reflect his role as a formally trained art teacher. Given Bardon's descriptions of his role and no evidence to the contrary, he was Namarari's first art agent, and a patron and collector of his work, a significant advance on casual friendship (hunting expeditions and sharing some beers).

Bardon's gallant attempt to set up a loop between the artists and the market was disrupted in July 1972. The men's apparently sudden dissatisfaction with Bardon linked to an episode when a group of painters, refusing to paint, chanted 'money, money, money!' at a shocked Bardon. In Namarari's interview with Kean he remarks 'we said no because he did not give us money' (see above). Bardon said that it was 'the administration's interference in process' that caused the men a 'great worry' feeling they were 'denied money from sales' (Bardon, 1991, pp. 43-46). My reading of that situation is that it was probably riven with confusion and misunderstanding. Bardon immediately left Papunya with 'a despair and a fury he had never known before' and 'woke up a few days later in a hospital bed' in Alice Springs (he does not say why he was there). Standing nearby were 'Tim Leura, Johnny Warungkula and Mick Namerari' and sometimes when Bardon woke up again 'he'd see Mick with Tim or Kaapa or Johnny'. It is difficult to say what the men made of his dramatic exit from Papunya, except that they felt strongly enough to make their way into Alice Springs to see a man they were concerned about.[405]

Bardon's friendship with Namarari was not terminated by his sudden departure. He returned to the Western Desert 'at least eight to ten times since 1973, and made some films in 1975, 1977 and so on, and was reunited with Mick at Bond University in 1990 when he accompanied Maxie Tjampitjinpa for a Papunya Tula exhibition and saw him again in 1991 when visiting Papunya, Mt. Leibig and Kintore'.[406] They also met again in Melbourne at the National Gallery of Victoria's Mythscapes exhibition in 1989 (see Ch. 9). Bardon's legacy included a template for a 'one-man art centre'.[407] Before moving to Namarari's next painting relationship involving Peter Fannin, the first painting story is introduced.

The first two painting stories relate to the matter of restricted imagery. The first painting story [PS#1] helps take some oxygen out of a myth. Namarari's first painting (there is no evidence to the contrary) may be 'Sandhills and Clouds 1971'.[408] The origin of its title is unclear. It was catalogued at Papunya and

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[404] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.
[405] I am reliant on Bardon's account at a time when he reported being distressed by events and hospitalised.
[406] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.
[407] Bardon was awarded the Order of Australia in 1989 for his services to art.
[408] Currently in the collection of the Museum and Art Gallery of the NT (WAL-0001). The gallery documentation states that the 'long waves depict sandhills' and the 'short crescent waves represent clouds'. The painting cannot be reproduced here according to MAGNT policy.

included in the first consignment of works to the Stuart Art Centre in Alice Springs as 'number 1 of consignment 1', hypothetically making it the first though more than likely it was simply one of a batch.[409] Vivien Johnson identified the painting and published its image recently (Johnson, 2010). Namarari's painting is one of the Museum and Art Gallery of the NT's (MAGNT) exceptional collection of some 220 early Papunya paintings. The collection was to go on an international tour[410] but the relevant Minister rejected the plan and blocked reproduction of the images until the paintings underwent a formal cultural examination to determine which were culturally sensitive or restricted.

The painting 'Sandhill and Clouds' is a small board with a simple design in two colours on a dark ground.[411] It comprises three sets of long wavy adjacent red lines (sandhills) bordered with neat white dotting, and joined in part by short horizontal red bars. Two outer areas of white dotting are interspersed with small concave shapes (clouds). In my estimation, Namarari's 'Sandhills and Clouds' has no elements associated with the criteria for restricted display.[412] This image is part of one of the narratives concerning the genesis of Western Desert art – that it progressed 'from undotted to dotted surfaces and from controversial to uncontroversial subject matter' (Johnson, 2010, p. 49). Johnson nominated this painting by Namarari (and other early boards) to expose the generalised progressive narrative as inaccurate, and I concur with her assessment. There were contentious paintings in the early 1970s (see Kimber's eyewitness account, 1995), including work by Namarari, but they were not *all* controversial or restricted.

This painting story [PS#2] concerns another Namarari painting from 1971 - 'Ceremonial medicine story 1971' (see Fig. 6). The diversity of imagery in early Papunya paintings was on display in the NGV's 2011 '*Tjukurrtjanu*' exhibition, including a room set aside for paintings with restricted content.[413] Namarari's painting was displayed in that room but not illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, though it appears in Bardon's opus (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 295) and more recently in an auction catalogue.[414] (I will revisit this painting in the thesis Conclusion for a more personal interpretation.) Its provenance suggests it was painted in late 1971, after 'Sandhills and Clouds' [PS#1].

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[409] There were four works by Namarari out a total of 29 in the first consignment according to my catalogue raisonne research based on the SAC register.
[410] Announced in the Sydney Morning Herald, May 16-17, 2009, p. 7; alongside the article is a reproduction of Namarari's 'Sandhills and Clouds' of 1971. The article states that the NT government 'has allocated $300,000 to research and conserve the collection'.
[411] As far as I can determine from the image in Johnson's publication.
[412] When Johnson showed an image of the painting to Bobby West Tjupurrula he expressed no concern, only interest. (Johnson, 2010, p. 232). Johnson herself states the painting has 'no controversial imagery or subject matter' (Johnson, 2010, p. 49)
[413] The exhibition's curators had undertaken an extensive consultation process with PTA and male relatives of the artists to make their determinations.
[414] Sotheby's Australia, May 2013, pp. 8-11.

Figure 6 (Ceremonial Medicine Story) See Painting story #2

Namarari paintings during 1971-72 included some with restricted designs such as 'Ceremonial Medicine story 1971' (Fig. 6). However, the conflict between Aboriginal men over imagery at that time raised the question: how could an individual continue to paint appealing (saleable) images without offending *wati*

sensibilities? Either individually or collectively, the men needed to censor their painted expressions within the process of painting, not after, because – as they soon came to realise - their paintings went on public display (see Kimber 1995 and Johnson 2010). It may be that Namarari did not have a concern about such imagery being seen in public, or that he did not realise at the time the ramifications of making paintings for sale. An important factor exerting an influencing on the artists was (some) Aboriginal men themselves, and it was they with the artists who resolved the issue to make an agreeable way forward (see Kimber 1995). No paintings by Namarari from 1973 onwards have been located that include what appears to be restricted designs.

The second painting relationship to discuss here is actually a mix involving Peter Fannin, the Aboriginal Arts Board[415] (AAB) with its director Bob Edwards, and by inference the federal government. It is likely that Namarari saw his relationship with Fannin as having weight because of its direct contact, person to person.[416] Fannin referred to the period between Bardon's departure in August 1972 and the establishment of an artists' organisation as the interregnum.[417] The men, including Namarari, continued to paint and the unsold works mounted. Key individuals at Papunya supported the artists to make some sales and PTA was registered in November. As a legal entity, PTA could receive government funding, via the AAB, another signal of the government's intent to actualise its vision of self-determination for the NT's Aboriginal people.[418]

The general history of PTA is broadly well known.[419] The creation of the Papunya Tula Artists Pty. Ltd. company with Aboriginal artists as shareholders proved to be a transformative event.[420] It was a new form of cross-cultural engagement with Aboriginal owner-managers alongside their white employees.[421] Namarari and Tim Leura were present when the PTA seed was planted and Charlie

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[415] The AAB was formed in May 1973, following the Aboriginal Arts Advisory Council formed in February 1970. The AAB had an 'all Aboriginal membership' and sought to 'develop policies and make recommendations on grants for all forms of Aboriginal art'. (Aboriginal self-determination in the arts. An account of the establishment and activities of the Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council. Submission to Australian Senate Standing Committee on Social Environment. May 1975. (Edwards Collection, Edwards_6-1-1, NMA.)

[416] Unlike artists such as Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri, Long Jack Phillipus Tjakamarra and Billy Stockman Tjapaltjarri, Namarari did not attend AAB meetings as an Aboriginal representative from Central Australia.

[417] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.

[418] The AAB could not give money to individual artists, only to an incorporated body.

[419] See for example, Crocker, 1987; Ryan, 1989; Mellor & Megaw, 1999; Johnson, 2008; Kimber in Perkins & Fink, 2000; Bardon's own account 'The making of Papunya Tula' is in Bardon & Bardon, 2004, pp. 35-39, and Kleinert & Neale, 2000, pp. 208-211.

[420] PTA is one of eight 'new style Aboriginal organisations' listed in Davis' report (1977, p. 132). Other organisations were formed at Papunya before PTA. The Papunya Tourist Promotion Inc., and the Papunya Rural Development Society Inc. were formed in 1969 and 1971 respectively and both collapsed in 1974. The Social Club was formed in 1960 and included Aborigines from 1964, and the Papunya Housing Association was formed in 1973. (Davis, 1977, pp. 69-72).

[421] PTA was therefore different to the Papunya Art and Craft Council operating at the time, also referred to as the Papunya School Painters' Cooperative (Ryan, 1989, p. 26).

Tarawa suggested the name in a conversation with Bardon in Alice Springs in June 1972: 'that morning Papunya Tula became a living idea, and everyone was happy' (Bardon, 1991, p. 36). It was an endeavour with radical potential: a corporate vehicle to export products out of Papunya and generate income and recognition for Aboriginal residents. Papunya Tula's genesis does seem to coincide with the contemporaneous transition from assimilation to self-determination, though the process (for PTA) was initiated within the grass roots, not in a distant government office. It is difficult to gauge the extent to which Namarari understood the legal or commercial ramifications for a shareholder in a registered company.

In November 1972 Fannin was appointed to the new full time PTA advisor's position though he had 'no specific art qualifications' and held the position until mid 1975.[422] At Papunya Fannin was 'given a skin name', which connected him into 'the Aboriginal men's system'.[423] He recalls that Bardon, Bob Edwards and himself were all 'Tjungurrayi', without recalling how Bardon was first nominated ('who called Geoff Jungurrrai (sic) I don't know') believing that Edwards and himself were referred to 'as his (Bardon's) brothers'.[424] Kimber (1995) observed that both Bardon and Fannin were educated by the Aboriginal men in a process loosely comparable to regarding them as *malliera* (early stage initiates). The term *malliera* occurs in PTA's field notes for some of Namarari's paintings, intimating he was involved in the education of early stage initiates.

Fannin recalls there were many paintings in the shed at Papunya 'without annotation and still unsold yet the men wanted to do more' and it was really 'an embarrassment of riches'.[425] Men were receiving 'small amounts of money for these works, with some being sold off to local Papunya staff, for ten dollars or so'.[426] Fannin 'had about forty artists on the books with too much art and too few sales', resulting in him making personal purchases during 1972-5 to help the company survive, including works by Namarari.[427]

Referring to the period around mid 1972, Fannin claims that 'up to the famous Timmy Payungka 'Secret sandhills' (#20064) and the remarkable Mick Namarari 'Birth of the Sun' (#20018)[428], a full palette of colours was available to artists, and as those two paintings show, used brilliantly'.[429] This changed from 1973 to at least 1975 when 'the Aboriginal Arts Board marketing advisers insisted on a limited earth colours palette' and Fannin says the Papunya store 'stocked and

[422] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[423] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[424] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[425] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[426] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[427] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[428] Acquired by the NGA; displayed in April 2013 and mistakenly attributed to Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri. I advised the gallery of the perceived error of their label in May 2013 by letter.
[429] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.

retailed those paints and simply didn't stock blue and green, even though we now see that the artists can use them brilliantly when they're available'.[430] Bardon's provision of different types of paints from Alice Springs and the influence of the AAB suggests that the range of colours available at Papunya to Namarari may have been inconsistent. The notion that Aboriginal artist's exclusively chose the 'traditional' colours of red, yellow, black and white may not have always reflected their preference alone, though Kimber believes that Bardon did not influence the artists in the colours they used.[431]

Fannin made trips between Alice Springs, Papunya, Yayayi and Haasts Bluff to collect paintings. He recalled seeing Namarari and Johnny Scobie Tjapanangka at Haasts Bluff more so than at Papunya. At Haasts Bluff Fannin noted that Namarari 'painted as a loner and stayed out of sight of women and kids. He was in a place apart, but of the rationale for this I have no idea'.[432] They would sit together and discuss the paintings and Fannin would write down the stories and enjoy a conversation. One consequence of Namarari's extended time at Haasts Bluff was missing out on the painting of extra large canvases ('motorcar paintings') because Fannin couldn't stretch them at Haasts Bluff, a task he could only undertake at Papunya. Only one extra large canvas painted by Namarari has been located, a commission during John Kean's time (1978) and now in the Berndt Collection (see Ch. 8).

Fannin suspects that Namarari moved to Haasts Bluff 'to get away from the Papunya politics' and does not recall Namarari playing any 'active role in the debates (secret/sacred issue) about what to include or exclude from the paintings, though Kaapa (Tjampitjinpa) was actively involved as he was more of a politician'.[433] Fannin believes Namarari viewed him 'more as a friend, we just happened to be temperamentally suited' and insists 'I did not see myself as an art advisor, I was the marketing advisor. Mick hardly needed advice on art!'[434] The Fannin-Namarari friendship ('temperamentally suited') seems more significant to Fannin than their kinship affiliation (Tjungurrayi-Tjapaltjarri), though we don't know Namarari's perception on that point. The Tjungurrayi-Tjapaltjarri affiliation is a father-son relationship. The time Fannin and Namarari spent together at Papunya and Haasts Bluff may be interpreted as Namarari ('father') looking after Fannin, whilst the son was providing for his father ('buying his paintings').

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[430] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[431] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[432] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[433] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010. A number of informants suggested to me that Kaapa Tjampitjinpa and Nosepeg Tjupurrula were more like confident politicians whereas Namarari was a background player who exerted his authority 'behind the scenes'.
[434] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.

However, the two men were about the same age (Fannin was born in 1930) and so there does not seem to be a generational factor at play. On Fannin's visits to Haasts Bluff they sometimes 'shared a carton of beer but did not drink to get drunk, to relax, rather'.[435] The two men enjoyed each other's company and in the relative isolation of Haasts Bluff Namarari had a male friend to sit with out of sight of the women and children, similar to their recent shared times at the teacher's house in Papunya. Namarari's need to paint with groups of other men seems to have waned.

In Fannin's time with PTA it was a constant struggle to generate market interest and sales. Around 1974 PTA acquired its own premises (the old Papunya store) for just 'one dollar'.[436] The new space allowed for a better display of paintings, giving Namarari and the other artists a formal display space in the local market. The fact that Namarari was making paintings did not mean he had an art career, perhaps not even what might be called 'a job', for the income was so irregular. The AAB actively supported PTA and therefore the artists.[437] It provided funds to employ a staff member, purchase supplies and operate a vehicle, and it purchased paintings.[438] The AAB provided a strong link to the market beyond Papunya and vigorously promoted the art nationally and internationally through an exhibition program.[439] Perhaps its moral support was the key, it demonstrated a faith in the work of the artists when very few individuals and virtually no Australian institutions were giving PTA the slightest attention. Australia's collective curatorial eyes could not see Namarari or his art. Kimber attributes the successful partnership between PTA and the AAB to the leadership of Bob Edwards at its helm.[440] The Commonwealth government, through the agency of the AAB, was a sponsor of Namarari's art making. It is likely that without the AAB's timely support Namarari's nascent career may have faltered or faded from view.

Fannin subsequently sold his personal collection of 'about forty-nine works including about eight by Namarari' to the National Gallery of Australia. One of Namarari's paintings 'was a gift from him to me, as artists sometimes gave an

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[435] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[436] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[437] Bob Edwards and the AAB maintained a strong association with PTA through the 1970s and into the 1980s. Its impact cannot be underestimated. (See for example Kimber in Perkins & Fink, 2000, pp. 206-207 and Johnson, 2010, pp. 130-134.) Decisions taken by the AAB to allocate operating funds to PTA and for art purchases may be found in the 'Aboriginal Arts Board documents of meetings from 1973-79' in the Edwards Collection at the NMA (Edwards 2008)
[438] Kate Khan, discussion and correspondence with the author, April 2008 and June 2011. She was the Exhibitions Officer with the AAB from 1974 to 1979.
[439] See Berrell, 2009 for a comprehensive description of the AAB's activities.
[440] 'Without Bob's help, this art you wouldn't be seeing it, I'm absolutely sure. Bob was a crucial figure, in backing Geoff Bardon, in backing Peter Fannin and everyone else including through to Daphne's time, and after. He was a remarkable character who went on much more than the art. He has not received sufficient attention'. (Dick Kimber, address to Tjukurrtjanu symposium, NGV, Melbourne, November 12, 2011)

art advisor a painting as a gift, not asking for payment'.[441] Fannin typed a note for that painting from Namarari, which included a statement attributed to Namarari (Fannin is the Jungurrai referred to here):[442]

> Gift from artist to Peter Fannin. "I don't want anything for this Jungurrai. I just did it for you." In a reciprocal culture like this one, one doesn't finish financially ahead. But the thought was nice. And I judge the paintings so given among the best in the collection.

Namarari's paintings-as-gifts to the early patrons Bardon and Fannin did not become a permanent habit and PTA staff typically did not receive such gifts beyond Fannin's day.[443] Fannin believes that Namarari and the others were 'all engaged in getting the whitefellas to take notice of things that really matter' and appreciated his friendship with Namarari: 'Mick was a very nice bloke and as well as a brilliant artist'.[444] Fannin finished working for PTA in mid 1975 and departed after finding a suitable replacement. On reflection he surmised in 2009 that 'the Central Australian Aboriginal art movement has, since 1980, gone from strength to strength, and the life and works of the early generation is of great interest'.[445]

Fannin was instrumental for this project in identifying the origins of a painting from 1972, discussed here. This painting story [PS#3] is a consequence of sleuthing that confirmed the details of the artwork's provenance. The provenance of Namarari's PTA paintings is mostly straightforward but not always for his 1971-72 paintings, including the one labelled '19123A' (see Fig. 7). The research led to the uncovering of drawings and stock book records in the PTA archives and, along with timely help from PTA staff, the painting's provenance was established.[446]

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[441] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[442] Typed label adjacent to image of painting, supplied to author by Peter Fannin, 2012.
[443] PTA staff survey 2011 (see App. 6) and interviews with PTA staff.
[444] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[445] Final collation of interviews and correspondence, Peter Fannin with author, January 2010.
[446] The amount of time researching the origin of that painting was in part justified by clarifying Namarari's output of 1971-72.

Figure 7 (19123A) See painting story #3

The painting 19123A, titled 'Kangaroos sleeping, grass in the rocks' (see Fig. 7), was confirmed as one of Namarari's 1972 works from the interregnum period. Pursuing its provenance not only confirmed Namarari's hand, but also revealed that several individuals at Papunya were actively supporting Namarari (and his fellows) after Bardon's mid-year departure by endeavouring to sell the build-up of their work, including Fannin, Laurie Owens, Jack Cooke and Pastor Petering, and Pat Hogan in Alice Springs. Namarari may not have realised he had people working assiduously on his behalf. The cataloguing and selling of paintings in the early days was characterised by good intent, enthusiasm and occasional confusion, and further work research is warranted regarding the whole of the 1971-72 output from Papunya.[447]

Namarari's painting 19123A was included with three similar works from 1972 in the Tjukurrtjanu exhibition of 2011 and illustrated in the exhibition's catalogue (Ryan & Batty, 2011: John Tjakamarra, 19204, p. 90; Mick Namarari,

[447] Vivien Johnson (2010) has already shown the value and importance of such an endeavour. Bardon's 2004 opus provides a foundation. The recent Tjukurrtjanu exhibition (an catalogue) seemingly missed the opportunity for a comprehensive art history, utilising formal analysis and written around the works themselves.

pp. 171 and 172; Shorty Lungkata, Kangaroo story, p. 230).[448] A prominent motif in the paintings is the 'sets of opposing arcs' motif. Dick Kimber explained that the arc lines may signify 'a symbolic representation of a kangaroo lying down at the site'.[449] Further, when a kangaroo is resting on the ground, it shifts itself slightly as the sun moves, thereby leaving a sequence of curved marks. In a search through the Papunya Tula Genesis and Genius catalogue (Perkins & Fink, 2000), showcasing art from the early 1970s to 2000, the opposing arcs motif does not appear in any men's paintings after 1972. This raises the question of whether or not it was restricted imagery that was subsequently avoided by the artists. Shorty Lungkata was a key informant in Myers' study and he explained the significance of the Kangaroo Dreaming in a man's life (Myers, 1976, pp. 507-515). Bardon (2004, p. 349 and pp. 446-7) reports in his annotated diagrams and notes that the motif can represent kangaroos (as animals) and the Kangaroo Ancestor of the Dreaming story, and thus Ceremonial Men who are by implication engaged in men's-only ceremonial activity. Senior men also informed John Kean that 'malu, no good', meaning that the kangaroo should not be depicted (Johnson, 2010, 254). The status of the opposing arcs motif in terms of restricted imagery remains unclear.

Figure 8 (MN731154) See painting story #4

During Fannin's employment he introduced larger sturdy boards to the artists, only one of which has been located as a painting by Namarari. This painting story [PS#4] is about his largest known painting to date (see Fig. 8) from late 1973 (MN731154, 123 x 90 cm). The key points here are about scale, colour and infill,

[448] Bardon (2004) lists some fourteen Kangaroo story paintings and in some the characteristic sets of opposing arcs motif may be seen: Yala Yala Gibbs Tjungurrayi (p. 218), Billy Stockman (p. 400), and Charlie Tarawa (p. 416). That 'Kangaroo Dreaming 1972' by Charlie Tarawa incorporates the opposing arcs along with other design elements, making it a more complex composition.
[449] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.

with a note on interpretation. This work on heavy chipboard is comfortably three to six times the size of the majority of Namarari's 1971-72 paintings.

The composition has a central roundel linked by coloured wavy lines to four smaller roundels, with four separate spherical-shaped objects in the corners. The roundel and sphere shapes comprise an intricate array of straight, wavy and curved lines, and patterned dotting. The impressive composition is carefully executed with fine line work and intricate dotting throughout. The palette extends the so-called traditional colours of black, white, red and black, and includes black, a watered-down black, white, red, a watered-down red, light pink, mid pink, mid yellow, bright yellow, yellow-orange, bright orange, olive green, light brown, brown-black, brown-yellow, and grey. The dotted infill comprises asymmetrical neat patches of single layers of dots in various colours that are usually bordered with a single line of white dots. The patchwork and bordering is not random, it is subdued, orderly and considered, which reflects the artist's character, though the effect is striking, which reflects his ability and intent. At that time Fannin believed that the 'textured backgrounds were a feature of dot painting and part of what made them sing and sell'.[450]

The limited documentation identifies the painting as the 'Mingatjara or Possums come home' story, and as a 'ground painting on chipboard'.[451] I clarified its provenance after Fannin's original documentation for the painting was unearthed in 2012 by Dick Kimber.[452] Fannin's annotation guides a description of the image.[453] The elements include the caves where people camped, the flowing water and the indicative ceremonial ornamentation (perhaps body paint). It may or may not represent a ground painting. The *tjukurrpa* reference in Namarari's painting is to the *mingatjara*, probably a small ant-eating animal (but not a possum *wayuta*) and the site is either Marnpi or to its east. Kimber speculated that the painting's subject matter may relate to the Pakari Dreaming (desert bandicoot) for the rockhole site Pinari.[454] Attempting to interpret the painting any further is thwarted by a lack of information from Namarari.

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[450] Peter Fannin, corres. to author, August 2011

[451] Acquired by the Australian Museum (Sydney) in late 1978. The back of the painting has a number written in black pen: MN731154. The Museum's documentation card (reg. no. E075533) includes: 'Mingarjara corroboree or Possums come home' and 'Mingatjara corroboree or Possums come home'. 'Ground painting on chipboard'.

[452] I viewed the documents on October 26, 2012 at Kimber's premises, audio recording the written text on each diagram and photographing (poor quality) each document. He invited me to view the relevant Namarari annotations.

[453] In the Dreamtime four families were camped in the cave's rockhole. They dug in and around themselves with bushes evidence of which can still be seen. The çorroboree took place as it still does in the area around. [centre] Camp in centre water flowing in from higher holes, [top right] camp at cave in rocks, [middle right] corroboree decoration, [bottom right] people camped in cave, [below diagram] east of Manpi Mingatjara possibly south east from Sandy Blight.

[454] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.

3 Walytja: early to mid 1970s

The first topic in this segment is mobility. The 1970s was a decade of being on the move with his relatives for Namarari, with Papunya a base of sorts. Namarari participated in the outstations movement, though he usually did not go with the majority. He was a key figure for the families he associated with, and though he did not play an overt political role as a public negotiator (like Nosepeg Tjupurrula), Namarari was – in my observations - a leader for people who camped together through the 1970s-1990s. This included the extended families of Namarari, Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula and Riley Rowe Tjupurrula, Johnny Scobie Tjapanangka, Cameron Tjapaltjarri and George Maxwell Tjangala, and he also associated with his countrymen, including Hilary Tjapaltjarri, Benny Tjapaltjarri and Joe Young Tjupurrula.[455] He probably visited Yayayi but did not stay there regularly with the mostly new Pintupi, because his wife-to-be, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, and her family resided at Papunya. Also at Papunya were Melva Nungurrayi (Wingulya's daughter) and her family.

Elizabeth outlined the approximate sequence of places where Namarari and herself lived during the 1970s as: Papunya, Blackwater, Papunya, Haasts Bluff, Kungkayunti (Browns Bore, for two to three years), Mt Liebig, Papunya, Kintore.[456] Papunya was a kind of base, a place to return to at one's convenience for personal business, shopping, seeing relatives, catching up with local news and making contact with PTA staff. Blackwater and Haasts Bluff are discussed in this chapter and Browns Bore (adjacent to the Aboriginal site of Kungkayunti) in the next. I contend one of the reasons that Namarari's artistic output oscillated in the 1970s was the difficulty that PTA staff had in locating and supplying him.

Namarari relocated his family to the range south of Papunya. Keith Butler Tjungurrayi[457] remembers visiting Namarari at the Blackwater outstation, possibly in the 1960s rather than the early 1970s. As a boy Keith 'rode on the back of a horse' with Namarari, 'holding on to *tjilpi's* shirt' when riding along.[458] At Blackwater they would go hunting (sometimes on camels) for kangaroos and Namarari used his shotgun. One day Namarari was riding along as Keith and another boy were running alongside, and Namarari said, 'if you don't go to school you will have to run a long way'.[459] Keith thinks that was Namarari's way of

[455] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, May 31, 2013, Kintore.
[456] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, discussion with author, November 19, 2008, Alice Springs.
[457] I first met Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, Namarari's adopted son, b1957, on April 30, 2010 at Papunya.
[458] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.
[459] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.

encouraging him to attend school in Papunya. Keith added that *tjilpi* was 'living in a house later' in Papunya.

After one year's absence Bardon returned to Papunya in August 1973 for six weeks to complete some painting annotations and recontact the men. He enjoyed reconnecting with Namarari who was by then living at the Blackwater outstation, which Bardon located at 'Tjingari Tia[460] high in the hills of the Belt range' (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 77) – the range to the south of Papunya. Bardon thought Namarari was a bachelor at the time, living with 'a family group of perhaps thirty persons' that included 'Johnny Scobie and Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula and their wives, children and dogs' (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 77-8). Bardon recalled 'there were warm responses from Mick that day, a sense of dignity and a calm interest towards me showing that he was 'happy' for both of us and for his group' (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 78).

On that 1973 visit the photographer Allan Scott accompanied Bardon and took photographs of a group of men at Blackwater outstation (Bardon, 1991, p. 84 and Ryan, 1989, p. 14). In Bardon's book, the photographer had somehow cajoled Namarari into removing his hat (is that why he looks sullen?). One of those photographs was presumably the one Kean used in his interview with Namarari in 1989, as the sequence of names they discussed matches the photograph's caption in Bardon's book. The group includes Cameron Tjapaltjarri, Namarari's classificatory brother (mistakenly listed as Tjampitjinpa in the 1989 and 1991 captions).[461] At that time Scott also photographed Namarari's camp in a bush setting at Blackwater (in Bardon & Bardon, 204, p. 77).

A portrait (black and white photograph) of Namarari at Blackwater taken by Scott also appears in Ryan's publication (1989, p. 16), showing a pensive man with a greying short beard gazing into the distance. In another group photograph taken in the early 1970s at Blackwater by Scott (Ryan, 1989, p. 11) the eight individuals are not named, which tends to present them as decoration in the publication. I sought to identify the group with the help of Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra.[462]

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[460] I also examined a series of photographs with Alison Multa, a Haasts Bluff resident, discussing some of the people appearing in them, including Namarari. I referred to the one showing Namarari living at Blackwater and stated the place name Bardon had recorded as 'Tjingari Tia'. The group chided my pronunciation. Alison then explained 'the water looks black on the ground' thus its name 'Tjiwiri kiti', lit. black water. She then wrote it down and carefully pronounced it for me.

[461] I confirmed the identity of these men with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, corres. with author, July 2012.

[462] Three women (Naomi Napurrula, Clara Rowe Napurrula, Topsy Wheeler Napanangka), four children (Aileen Rowe Napurrula, Ashley Scobie Tjapanangka, Kitty Marks Nakamarra, Pamela Tolson Nakamarra); Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, corres. with author, July 2012.

Interview extract 4a

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, where Kean discusses (presumably) Scott's 1973 photograph of the group of men at Blackwater:

Kean

Whereabouts did they take this photo? xxx Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri, Cameron Tjapaltjarri, Turkey, Riley, Johnny Scobie. This is you.

Namarari

Is that Papunya?

Kean

Yes, Maybe at Papunya, yes this is the big hill.

Namarari

Where is it? Ulumpaawurru.

Kean

This one is you. You have got no whiskers here.

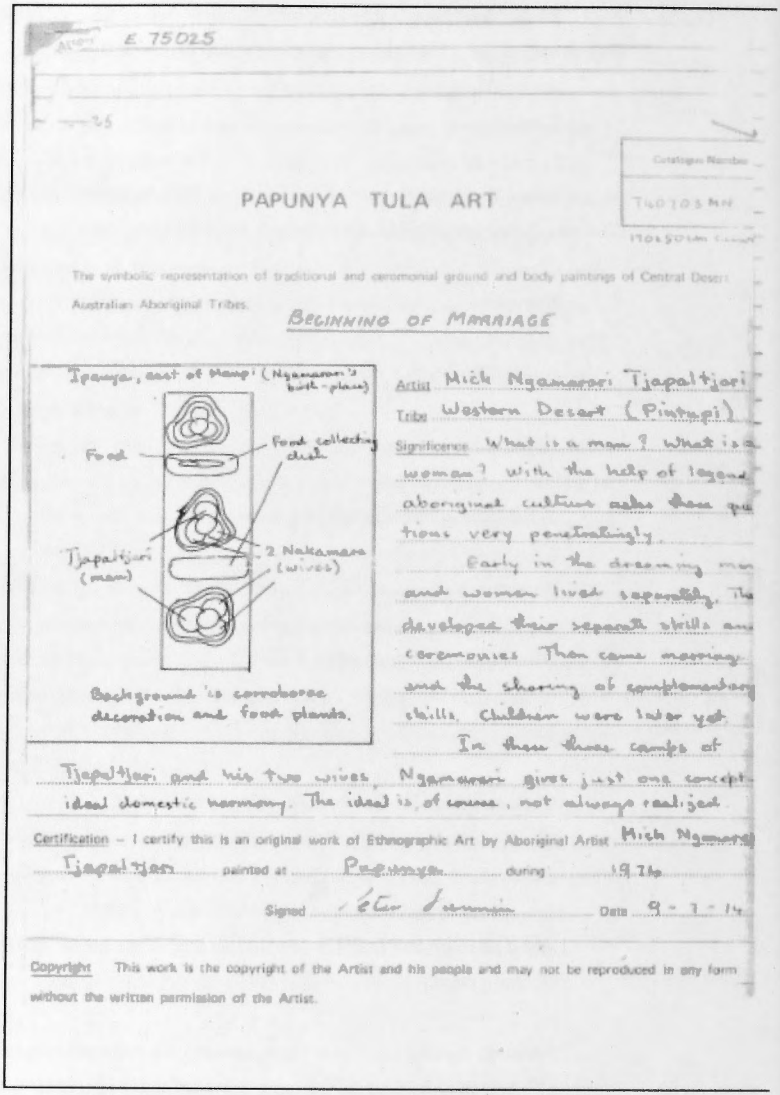
Namarari

Just a small growth little bit.
(End of extract)

Namarari says the location is Ulumpaawurru, the mountain range south of Papunya.[463] According to Tindale, the Jumu Tribe defined their area as: 'between Ilpili and Paura (Apaura) = Ulambaura new name on the N side of MacDonnell Ranges'.[464] Namarari, or one of the men in that photograph, may have had some affiliation with that place (to gain rights to camp there) given that the site was linked to Ilpilli (according to Tindale's informants in the mid 1950s).

[463] This is Hansen's spelling, also Ulumbarru or Ulumparru in the literature, not to be confused with Alumbara (alt. Lampara) west of Papunya near Yayayi.
[464] SA Museum, AA338-4-34_025 (noted during his 1956 research trip to Haasts Bluff)

Figure 9 (PTA certificate for MN740703) See Painting story #5



E 75025

PAPUNYA TULA ART

The symbolic representation of traditional and ceremonial ground and body paintings of Central Desert Australian Aboriginal Tribes.

BEGINNING OF MARRIAGE

Tjanya, east of Mangi (Ngamarari's birth-place)

Food

Food collecting dish

Tjapaltjari (man)

2 Nakamara (wives)

Background is corroboree decoration and food plants.

Artist Mick Ngamarari Tjapaltjari

Tribe Western Desert (Pintupi)

Significance What is a man? What is a woman? With the help of legend aboriginal culture asks these questions very penetratingly.

Early in the dreaming men and women lived separately. They developed their separate skills and ceremonies. Then came marriage and the sharing of complementary skills. Children were later yet.

In these three camps of Tjapaltjari and his two wives, Ngamarari gives just one concept ideal domestic harmony. The ideal is, of course, not always realized.

Certification – I certify this is an original work of Ethnographic Art by Aboriginal Artist Mick Ngamarari Tjapaltjari painted at Papunya during 1974

Signed Peter Sutton Date 9-1-14

Copyright This work is the copyright of the Artist and his people and may not be reproduced in any form without the written permission of the Artist.

The second topic in this section is marriage, which begins with a brief painting story [PS#5]. The catalogue raisonne research revealed two Namarari paintings regarding marriage from July 1974 (MN740703, MN740718). They are the only paintings with such a title throughout 1971-1998 and suggest the subject was on his mind. The painting 'Beginning of marriage' certificate (see Fig. 9) is

informative. PTA's certificate shows an annotated diagram and text.[465] The site is 'Ipanya, east of Marnpi' and three roundels representing stylised camps are shown with intervening food collecting dishes. At the camps are 'Tjapaltjarri (man)' and '2 Nakamarra (wives)', represented by U-shapes. Fannin's poetic description is somewhat cryptic[466] and his text reads:[467]

> What is a man? What is a woman? With the help of legend aboriginal culture asks these questions very penetratingly. Early in the dreaming men and women lived separately. They developed their separate skills and ceremonies. Then came marriage and the sharing of complementary skills. Children were later yet. In these three camps of Tjapaltjarri and his two wives, Ngamarari gives just one concept – ideal domestic harmony. The ideal is, of course, not always realized.

The culturally appropriate marriage partner for Tjapaltjarri is Nakamarra. Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra (b. 1959), Namarari's second wife, grew up in the Papunya area and attended school there. When her family went to Yuendumu she changed schools, and learned two languages: 'Luritja from Papunya and Warlpiri from Yuendumu', which was her mother's side.[468] Namarari and Nakamarra married around the mid 1970s.[469] Elizabeth's mother, Mary Napanangka (a sister of Johnny Scobie Tjapanangka), later became the second wife of Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula, following the death of her own husband (Johnson, 2008, p. 276).

Elizabeth explained that she was promised by her father (Frank Bevan Tjupurrula[470]) to Namarari and that they were all together at Papunya.

Interview extract 4b

Extract from author's interview with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra[471] (Namarari is referred to as *tjilpi*):[472]

Alec

Did you meet tjilpi at Papunya?

Elizabeth

---

[465] PTA certificate MN740703, acrylic on canvas, 170 x 50 cms. 1974, signed by Peter Fannin.
[466] Fannin did not speak Pintupi and I do not take this to be a verbatim statement by Namarari.
[467] PTA certificate MN740703.
[468] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.
[469] My interviews with Namarari's relatives suggest the timing of his marriage to Elizabeth was around the mid 1970s.
[470] Introduced herein on the Wards list at Haasts Bluff (see Walytja, Ch. 4).
[471] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.
[472] Elizabeth, during interviews and conversations with the author referred to Namarari as: tjilpi, old tjilpi, or, the old man, or, old husband. In Pintupi/Luritja *tjilpi* = old man, a term of respect.

Yeah but my father, our way you know, I don't want break the Law that's why I married old tjilpi, promise.

Alec

By your father?

Elizabeth

Yeah

Alec

Ok so in your way he would say 'that man is for you, promise'.

Elizabeth

Promise.

Alec

Oh right so that was your father thought of that?

Elizabeth

Yuwa.

Alec

Ok, so then in English we say 'get married', you know wear a wedding ring [pointing] *to get married. So did you get married to tjilpi in Papunya?*

Elizabeth

Yeah already little bit young but that time he used to look after me well too.

Alec

He had to look after you?

Elizabeth

Yep to become his wife.

Alec

Right, and did he have to look after your father as well?

Elizabeth

Yeah everybody, my family. Father, mother, family.

Alec

So he's looking after them. What does he do, does he get them some tucker or?

Elizabeth

Tucker, go out bush bring back big mob of kuka, cat, goanna, everything.

Alec

Oh really, that's for your father and mother's family.

Elizabeth

Yeah, when he took canvas in Papunya to get paid money, give them all that.

Alec

Oh he gives them the money as well from the painting?

Elizabeth

Yep.

Alec

Ok, so he's working hard hunting and painting in Papunya.

Elizabeth

Yep and looking after all my family.
(End of extract)

Elizabeth explained that Namarari had a responsibility to care for her family for some time. This involved hunting for food ('kuka' is a general term for meat) and handing over his income from painting sales, which underlines his additional need for cash in the 1970s. In Namarari's case a particular purpose for his painting income is therefore identifiable: to support his prospective in-laws family in addition to his existing family. Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula (Namarari's nephew) spoke of Namarari's marriage, calling it a 'bush wedding' (occurring in about the mid 1970s at Papunya) and emphasised the importance of Namarari's responsibility to his father-in-law:[473]

> At Papunya uncle was looking after Elizabeth's father. I don't think he was living at Yayayi, he was in Papunya looking after him. He met her at Papunya. They got married in a bush wedding, only Aboriginal people, no white people. He lived at Blackwater with his family, with some nieces and nephews.

Elizabeth also illuminated the close relationship between Namarari and Johnny Warungkula Tjupurrula, as the latter was a brother of Namarari's new father-in-law.[474] Elizabeth explained that Warungkula ('we call him father our way, whitefella call him uncle'[475]) and her father were each affiliated with Kalipinypa, a frequent subject of Warungkula's most prized paintings.[476] This explains why

[473] Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, interview with author, November 21, 2007, Alice Springs.
[474] The process of comprehending relationships between Aboriginal men in the Western Desert involves a consideration of kinship affiliations, inherited rights to sites, ceremonial connections (for example, initiation), marriage (and second and third marriages), adoptions ('growing someone up'), and friendship.
[475] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.
[476] Kimber provides an explanation of Kalipinypa's origins (see Amadio & Kimber, 1988, pp. 45-46).

Elizabeth included lighting strikes in her paintings, which are also associated with the site Kalipinypa.[477]

Conclusion

In this chapter Namarari's journey has been followed through Papunya, Blackwater and Haasts Bluff in the early 1970s.[478] I contend he was an increasingly cross-culturally confident individual, whose very engagement nurtured his competence. (Though he did not have the self-confidence and canniness of someone such as Nosepeg Tjupurrula, who had spent some of the war years working with the army in and beyond Alice Springs.) Namarari was preoccupied with providing for an extended family and the demands of often being on the move. The increased mobility was related to Namarari's family situation as a married man and his desire to avoid Papunya. He does not move alone and is mostly in the company of particular families, notably the Scobies, Tolsons and Maxwells. He has new white friends, a new interest in painting and an increased number of relatives who could turn to him for care.

Namarari's new work activity, painting, brought him an irregular income, personal satisfaction and interaction with art advisors, who were perhaps a different kind of boss – people who were trying to help him. Namarari's relationships with Bardon and Fannin set in train patterns of interaction that I will show persist throughout his career. Painting is also an agreeable pastime of interacting with his fellows: sitting together, talking or singing, and producing culturally inspired paintings for sale. However, the impact of Aboriginal agency in the genesis of art making at Papunya in the 1970s is an incomplete record. We are left peering through the haze for a filtered view at best until dormant records are brought to light.[479]

I am confident that men such as Namarari, who had by the early 1970s spent three decades or so in the cross-cultural zone, came to realise that *friendship itself* with the right whitefella was an important resource that could be manipulated. The Pintupi favoured soft politics (coercion over aggression) in their cross-cultural deal making, and Namarari's testimony is much more about making suggestive hints and watching for a response. It was a survival strategy, for resources eventually flowed across the friendship bridge once it was in place. Patience was

[477] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore. Elizabeth began painting regularly in the late 1990s. Her earliest painting located for PTA during my catalogue raisonne research was from 1986 (EM860266)
[478] Browns Bore is discussed in the following chapter.
[479] The interviews by Kean, Batty and Myers that I referred to previously.

one of the pillars that eventually made it secure. The other pillars I explore are respect, fair exchange and shared interests.

Namarari's association with *walytja* was affected by his art practice. In contrast to previous work activities (often unskilled, low-status labouring), the making and selling of paintings now link fruitfully to his status as a *wati*, in turn supporting his role as a provider, his cross-cultural involvement as an educator and a kind of ambassador promoting his culture, not to mention his own revised self-perception as an artist. He developed a new skill set in a new role and gradually, a new set of ideas. I argue that he found being an artist rewarding and enjoyable. The paintings were part of a bigger picture, for as Kimber noted, 'there was a strong interlock between the art and the country to which the Pintupi were hoping to move' (1988, p. 72). The making of paintings enjoined the personal, the social, the economic and the political at Papunya. The 1970s had brighter prospects for Namarari than the 1960s. With new doors opening he took advantage to make things better for himself and his family.

Chapter 7

Moving west, the mid-late 1970s

The shifts in government policy in what became known as 'Aboriginal affairs' continued through the 1970s. Between 1973 and 1980 the Commonwealth established the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, the Aboriginal Arts Board, the Aboriginal Artists Agency and the National Aboriginal Consultative Council; and passed legislation for the Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act, the Aboriginal Lands and Sacred Sites Act (NT), Land Rights legislation (NT), and the Racial Discrimination Act. The Central Land Council (of the NT) was established in 1977 under the NT Land Rights Act. Kimber provides a timely reminder to those of us enjoying the benefits of hindsight: 'in the early 1970s the men didn't know that land rights and native title legal changes would change in the mid 1970s'.[480] This thesis is not an analysis of the policies of assimilation and self-determination (or self-management) but does attempt to consider the relationship between Commonwealth policy and people on the ground such as Namarari.

Prime Minister Whitlam stated his government's commitment at a national forum in mid 1973. It intended, he said, 'to restore to the Aboriginal people of Australia the power to make their own decisions about their way of life within the Australian community'.[481] The Liberal and National Parties' policy platform stated in 1975 inter alia that 'as part of the policy of self-management we will encourage Aboriginal agencies and organisations at all levels' (quoted in Davis, 1977, p. 143[482]). At a federal level the policy shift in favour of increased Aboriginal decision-making was bi-partisan. Canberra's earlier political assertion that Namarari should 'discard his tribal ideas, values, traditions and loyalties' evaporated. Instead, it was deemed that those values should be recognised if not celebrated, thus art-making eventually contributed to both the recognition and celebration of Namarari and his culture. In stark contrast to the work of the stockman or the labourer, the output of the artist was portable and could be circulated, and therefore appreciated, in the metropole independent of its maker. In western society the status of the artist was above that of the stockman.

The demise of the assimilation program contributed to Papunya's demise. The Pintupi were also agents of change and Namarari played a role, partly through

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[480] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.

[481] Speech by the Prime Minster Mr E G Whitlam at the opening of a national seminar on Aboriginal arts, Australian National University, 21 May 1973. (Edwards Collection, Edwards_7-2-2, NMA)

[482] In a review of Papunya's development and its prospects, Davis (1977, p. 33) considered the government's progress in seven fields: the land, law and order, employment, health, education, administration, and Aboriginal organisations.

rejecting Papunya as a permanent place to reside through the act of relocation. By 1977 'half of Papunya's population were living up to 90 kms away on 8 outstations' (Davis et al, 1977, p. 119). The Pintupi once again voted with their feet. By the late 1970s there were thirteen outstations in the region.[483] Whilst the government had endeavoured to exercise direct control over Aboriginal lives (a feature of assimilation), the Pintupi had held fast to their desire for autonomy (Myers, 1991, p. 38). The tensions in government policies (see Davis, 1977, pp. 85-6) between support for large serviced centralised settlements and small groups living in relative isolation is part of Namarari's trajectory. That report's authors saw the outstation movement as an example of a modification in the government thinking towards the Aboriginal perspective because it reflected 'a growing official awareness to allow Aboriginals to do things in their own way' (Davis, 1977, pp. 104). This in turn illustrated the growing impact of persistent Aboriginal agency.

The importance of the men's painting movement went beyond its economic value. In the mid 1970s 'Europeans recognised three main sorts of independent economic activity on the part of Aboriginals at Papunya: wages, value of food through hunting and gathering, the net value of paintings and other artefacts sold on the open market' (Davis, 1977, p. 98), reflecting the 'transition from rations to cash' during the period 1960 to 1980 (Rowse, 1998a, p. 80), allowing Aborigines new forms of engagement. The 'Tula Artists Society' (sic) had a cross-cultural educative role beyond income generation because it 'was thought that the men's work provided a good opportunity for a wider audience to become familiar with the culture of the desert people' (Davis, 1977, pp. 98-9).

This chapter follows Namarari's relationships with PTA's staff from 1975 onwards and to a limited extent his family life, which involved moving from one outstation to another interspersed with stints at Papunya. Extra attention is given here to another of the Western Desert communities that is barely noted in the historical record - that of Browns Bore. Namarari's painting output is irregular and at times non-existent. There is evidence to suggest that Namarari was recognised as an individual artist through the 1970s but not that he was seen as one of the top PTA artists. Namarari did not seek the limelight and did not push him self forward as an artist. At one point in the mid 1970s 'someone from the AAB' advised Kimber to 'pick the top five artists and go with them' as 'they will (financially) support the organisation'.[484] Namarari was not one of his recommended top five.[485]

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[483] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012.
[484] Kimber does not remember which staff member, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[485] Kimber nominated popular artists as: Clifford Possum, Kaapa Tjampitjinpa, Billy Stockman and Shorty Lungkata, Long Jack Phillipus, Tim Leura. Interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.

However, in the matter of how he helped further his own career, Kimber believes that Namarari 'painted with integrity throughout'.[486]

1 Painting on shaky ground

Namarari's nascent practice was not yet a painting career. A number of factors either distracted him from painting work or simply made it more difficult to undertake. Papunya Tula teetered along in the 1970s, dependent on the Aboriginal Arts Board's financial and moral support: 'Without the Board's financial support, Papunya Tula Artists would not have survived the decade.' (Johnson, 2010, p. 134. See also Kimber 2000 and Johnson, 2010, pp. 73-77). Fortunately, PTA staff served for about two years each through the 1970s, providing the organisation with some stability. An ongoing concern for Aborigines at Papunya was the turnover of white staff, with some only lasting weeks or months:

> For Aboriginals, the difficulty lies in assessing the qualities of staff, putting them into some category or another which indicates their usefulness and sympathies. In most cases no sooner have they managed to do this than they have to watch them go away – and they have to start all over again with the new incumbent (Davis, 1977, p. 91).

Namarari's output fell away through the mid 1970s, with fifty-five paintings over the five years between 1973 and 1977.[487] Taking the total 1970s figures into account (post 1972), Namarari produced some 105 works from 1973 to 1981 (about twelve per annum). In comparison, he produced over 100 paintings during 1971-72 (about fifty per annum). The first two years saw an outpouring of effort and beyond that period he painted on average one painting per month, though I will show that averages are misleading as annual figures are highly irregular. Namarari's 1973-74 paintings were mostly produced at Papunya with some at Haasts Bluff and his final work from November 1974 painted at Kungkayunti.[488] There are no works listed in the first four months of 1975, then one for May (PTA paperwork signed by Fannin), three for September and one for November (all signed by Janet Wilson). The 1975 works were produced at 'Koonkiyookki' (Kungkayunti assumed), Browns Bore and Papunya.

In 1976 the paintings came from Browns Bore until October, then Haasts Bluff and Papunya.[489] That suggests he may have departed Browns Bore in late 1976, at least for a time. No works originated from Browns Bore in 1977,

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[486] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[487] These figures do not include items identified as painted wooden objects.
[488] Kungkayunti and Browns Bore are treated as the same place for the catalogue raisonne as they are within 2 klms of each other. Namarari lived at Browns Bore.
[489] The PTA documents for these were variously signed 'Janet Wilson' or left blank.

according to the PTA records. The records for his paintings from September-November 1977 state Papunya as the place of production. In the first half of 1978 the only painting listed is from January (see below). For the balance of 1978, seven paintings for July-August and September-November were produced at Lumpara (Alumbara bore). The periods January to June 1977 and February to July 1978 remain the longest unbroken periods when Namarari did not paint for the company (according to PTA records). The dearth of works for 1977 might be explained by PTA's difficulty in servicing the isolated group at Browns Bore. The lack of works for 1978 might be explained by the surge in his income at the beginning of that year: from one large commission and from the series painted for Bardon in Sydney.

2 Painting relationships

In this section the employment of Janet Holt, Dick Kimber and John Kean by PTA during the mid to late 1970s is discussed with a focus on their association with Namarari. Janet Holt worked as the Papunya Tula art advisor from mid 1975 to mid 1977. Fannin introduced the artists to her to get their 'clearance' that it was 'ok for Janet to work for them', an acknowledgment of their position as company owners.[490] The Aboriginal Arts Board continued funding Holt's position with PTA and she worked on her own for a full year before Kimber joined in May 1976.

Holt first encountered Papunya as 'a dump, it was horrible'.[491] She identified one of her first tasks as servicing the artists living away from Papunya, though initially she had no vehicle or accommodation at Papunya. She aimed 'to very carefully shift the emphasis away from being dominated by just the Papunya artists who lived right there because other artists who lived outside Papunya who were part of the company weren't being covered as often'.[492] The imbalance concerned her. The artists outside Papunya included 'Mick (Namarari), he wasn't at Papunya, he was at Haasts Bluff' (where they first met) and was associated with Johnnie Scobie, Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula and perhaps Charlie Tarawa.[493] Holt needed to travel further west on rough bush tracks to distribute canvas, collect and record competed works and make payments to artists, including Namarari:[494]

> I first met him at Haasts Bluff and I purchased I think it was probably only one painting from him. There weren't many canvases handed out, they only took one each, and then later going back I left another one with him and would later go back and get it, leaving another one for him at

[490] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[491] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[492] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[493] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[494] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.

> Haasts Bluff. I found him quiet and with time he would engage more with you but not straight off, he's always been like that.

Holt came to know Namarari 'a little at a time'. His mobility made it difficult to predict where and when she would find him – 'I couldn't be guaranteed to catch him in the bush because you never knew exactly where he was' – though she saw him 'more often at Haasts Bluff, a little bit at Browns Bore and occasionally they'd come to Papunya but not very often'.[495] She found Namarari passive compared to some other painters. He had a reserved nature that stood out by default, as he 'didn't present himself as pushing towards painting as some did'.[496] Holt observed that some artists 'tried to control or get a better cut of the canvases available, in a competitive sense' as they 'wanted to dominate the chequebook to get the better cut of the available capital for purchasing paintings'.[497] PTA was not Namarari's only source of income. He was making extra income from private sales of paintings to individuals such as Phillip Toyne (see below). Improved food availability around Browns Bore (from hunting) might have also reduced the group's cash requirements. Like Moyle (see below), Holt thinks that the men at that time received Department of Social Security payments (a third form of income), and Myers noted some artists at Yayayi received a government 'training allowance' of $60 per fortnight (Myers, 2002, p. 148).

Namarari did use some English in his conversations with Holt. She continued PTA's practice of annotating each work without 'pushing' the male artists for extra details, in an apparently self-imposed restriction:[498]

> He was quite good [with English] because of his contact through his pastoral cattle work, those men had worked in cattle mustering situations [and were] always more articulate depending on their relationship with the local people and the contact they'd had up to then, he was quite good. It was very simple, yeah I was able to get some key points with him. I didn't want to push too hard either, I never felt that was my job.

In looking back (from 2010) on her work in the region with the artists, Holt reconsidered Namarari's situation, recalling that he was previously a resident at Haasts Bluff in the 1940s-50s:[499]

> I think he was like a lot of Aboriginal people dealing with sorrow, for things lost and not only lost in terms of land but government policy. As one of those guys once said, they were happier when they were living on the station nearby [Haasts Bluff] and I've never really pushed and got any more detail on that.

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[495] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[496] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[497] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[498] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[499] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.

Around 1975 a caravan was secured to accommodate PTA staff and materials at Papunya. However, Holt 'couldn't stay at Papunya' because 'the caravan there was always trashed' and so she worked in Alice Springs.[500] She emphasised the AAB's role: 'I wouldn't have kept it going if it hadn't been for Bob Edwards and his efforts to place the art'. Holt found sales in Alice Springs were 'absolutely really dreadful, with very few local sales to local people and very few to tourists'. Namarari's progress as an artist, whether he knew it or not, was still dependent on the AAB's support (using Commonwealth funds). Whether its policy was one of assimilation or self-determination, the Commonwealth was the primary source of funds flowing into Papunya and its surrounding outstations.

Holt felt that Namarari's personality included 'a sense of humour in a quiet soft way', in contrast to someone like Charlie Tarawa who 'was hysterical at times, he could be a very funny man'.[501] Namarari communicated his humour with a 'quiet chuckle not just by his expression; he responded to other people's humour, he was quick' and significantly was a 'man of few words and when he did speak his words were very charged'.[502] Holt perceived Namarari as having 'a sense of authority, a sense of the spiritual connection that was in him':[503]

> He was quiet and more reflective and maybe he was trying to make sense of his where he was all the time. He was confused which can happen as you get all these people standing up above you and looking down at you as you're sitting on the ground telling you what's best for you.

In trying to perceive the essence of his authority Holt saw Namarari buffeted by the attitudes of (implied) white bosses or officials who 'stood over' Aboriginal men. Holt subsequently lived and worked on Delmore Downs cattle station,[504] gaining a continuity of black-white interactions to reflect upon. When asked to reflect on the main Pintupi project - people wanting to move west closer to Pintupi country - Holt stated with conviction, 'Oh yeah, nobody expressed it but you knew, you knew, you just knew'.[505]

Dick Kimber was familiar with PTA art through seeing it on display in Alice Springs in the early 1970s.[506] Kimber met Namarari at Papunya, possibly in 1974 when Namarari was a Councillor, though it is not 'a specific memory'.[507] He was the Papunya Tula Coordinator from May 1976 to May 1978, a role shared with

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[500] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[501] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[502] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[503] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[504] At Utopia, to the northeast of Alice Springs, where she met and worked with the legendary Emily Kame Kngwarreye for many years.
[505] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[506] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[507] Collation of author's interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.

Janet Holt.[508] Whilst employed together they made visits to Papunya and to the artists scattered around several outstations, including Yayayi, Mt Liebig, Browns Bore and Haasts Bluff. Upon her departure in mid 1977 Kimber continued for another year. Kimber remembered that selling paintings in the mid 1970s was 'a difficult task, as there was no general public interest and certainly not the popularity that came much later'.[509] For that reason they 'could not give out big canvases, only small boards'.[510]

Through his travels with the traditional owners over many years, Kimber developed an extensive knowledge concerning Aboriginal sites and *tjukurrpa*. His understanding is that 'information about such places is only revealed step by step, so everyone must learn step by step, from a senior person',[511] which corresponds to each artist having informed outsiders about the content of his paintings (see following extract). Kimber used a mix of English and Pintupi in gathering information about paintings from Namarari.[512] Kimber noticed that when artists travelled 'to their own country they did a great painting after without fail'.[513] Kimber did not visit Namarari's country with him, though he did ask him about 'ceremonies and business'.[514]

Kimber recalls Namarari living at Browns Bore outstation with other families. He saw the men painting, 'sitting in the open if it was not too windy, perhaps all together under a shade shelter', with the 'women sitting in their own group separately, a common practice'.[515] Kimber watched Namarari painting 'several times' and remembers seeing the men painting in the mid 1970s, observing of Namarari:[516]

> He was a very quiet man most of the time. He was very intensely focused, like Shorty Lungkata. He didn't pay much attention to you when he was painting. So it was best to just sit quietly and let them paint without interrupting. They didn't volunteer much information about the painting, it tended to come out a little at a time. He would join in if someone else started up singing.

Kimber called Namarari 'Tjapaltjarri' ('by his skin name') and believes he learned a number of things from Namarari, including: 'site names and where people had rights to country, site names and their Dreamings, and ways of

[508] However, Kimber was paid by the Education Department, not by PTA. Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[509] Collation of author's interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.
[510] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[511] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[512] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[513] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[514] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[515] Collation of author's interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.
[516] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.

representing Dreamings by pattern or the form of art he used'.[517] Namarari 'knew the language and songs' associated with the sites and Dreamings too and through his 'depiction of a wide range of sites has allowed his family and grandchildren to understand their heritage in a very personal way'.[518] Kimber observed Namarari to be a 'precise artist' who did not work fast, though he only saw him doing small paintings.[519] According to Kimber, Namarari was 'a quiet man who would often let others speak' and was 'reserved but could be sharp'.[520] After two years with the company Kimber moved on. He remained a permanent resident of Alice Springs and had occasional contact with Namarari through the 1980s and 1990s. Kimber was succeeded at PTA by John Kean.

Whilst Kean was working in Alice Springs assisting Daphne Williams, Nosepeg Tjupurrula started referring to him as 'Tjakamarra'. In kinship terms Tjupurrula-Tjakamarra is a father-son relationship. Kean was therefore identified as a Tjakamarra before he went to Papunya. Unlike his PTA predecessors (Fannin, Holt and Kimber) Kean resided at Papunya, where his permanent presence enabled him to experience life closer to the artists. Some informants for this study lived in desert communities long enough to develop a personal philosophy about their engagement with Aboriginal people. Kean underlines four key points regarding his relationship with Namarari borne of his time at Papunya. Their mutual comfort was not derived solely from amenable personalities or attitudinal dispositions as his first key point shows. He links the kinship name he was given (Tjakamarra) to a non-competitive relationship with Namarari, because:[521]

> in Aboriginal terms our familiarity and comfort with each other came out of the kinship, our kinship relationship. In Aboriginal terms I'm Tjakamarra, so he's Tjapaltjarri, so we're brothers-in-law and that's the most friendly of the relationships because you're bound together, you're not competing for wives for a start.[522]

From Namarari's point of view, the new PTA man was both a friendly brother-in-law and the next sponsor of his art – a doubly important ally (though sponsor is not a word Namarari is known to have used).

Kean's second key point concerns his friendship with Namarari, emphasising it was characterised by a level of comfort derived in part from 'being in someone's presence'.[523] Kean was the kind of 'willing student' who suited Namarari's 'method of teaching', a theme flagged in Davis's report at Papunya

[517] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[518] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[519] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[520] Dick Kimber, interview with author, July 27, 2011, Alice Springs.
[521] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[522] Kean is not suggesting they were competing for wives. In Pintupi terms, Tjapaltjarri men marry Nakamarra women and Tjakamarra men marry Napaltjarri women (as 'first' choice).
[523] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.

(1977, p. 106).[524] According to Kean, he and Namarari acclimatised to each other's personal space over time, which occurred because Kean was living at Papunya:[525]

> I suppose there is a huge distance between the culture that I took to Papunya and the one that I met when I got there. And a lot of it is, certainly what happened with Mick was just being around him, the kind of familiarity of kind of being in someone's presence was one way of getting to know them. You know, how they have their tea, their kind of their physical space; you know on a superficial level that Mick loves dogs, loves kids, chose to not be macho in the Pintupi expression of macho, that he chose to be a sort of a passive man, in the kind of negotiations of manhood around there.

The third key point from Kean concerns his awareness of limitations as he came to realise there were aspects of Aboriginal culture beyond his reach.[526] Kean appreciated this limitation regards ceremonial life: 'I've never been to ceremonies with Mick, I've never seen him in the full ceremonial performance', though he joined with him in 'lots of incidental ceremonial activities, that is site visits, being a part of singing corroborees, in association with paintings or for specific purposes'.[527] Kean experienced some cultural activities with Namarari as his guide, enriching his comprehension of Namarari's character, culture and art. Namarari was apparently bringing Kean closer to himself than he had done for Bardon, Fannin or Holt, becoming a mentor to Kean. For his part, Kean seemed to have moved beyond getting to know Mick and was being introduced to Tjapaltjarri. To use Kimber's analogy, Kean was 'putting his hand up' (making himself available to knowledge) and Namarari was teaching him step by step.

Kean expanded on the process of men 'becoming comfortable' in each other's company, often in silence. In Kean's estimation the importance of silence was an essential element of Namarari's make-up for a newcomer to appreciate:[528]

> So that's what I mean about by getting to know him by proximity, you know, I was very comfortable in his presence and because he's a quiet person like Turkey Tolson, some of those Aboriginal guys of that generation, you didn't have to talk, you don't have to fill a conversation, you can just be around, go somewhere, you don't have to talk, and you do know people that way, to be able to sit in someone's company and be totally comfortable and content and not have a conversation, it's an indication that there's a depth of relationship there, it's significant.

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[524] The authors assert, in relation to Papunya's role as a training institution for Aborigines, that 'the two main elements in any program of cultural change are the willingness of the students to learn and the effectiveness of the teaching methods'.

[525] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.

[526] PTA staff often reported to me how some artists introduced them to aspects of cultural life beyond the everyday, giving them privileged insights, a kind of 'reverse assimilation'. The very acts of being with artists in everyday situations such as sitting, talking, travelling, driving, shopping, eating, or swapping stories are experiences that enabled PTA staff to have a greater appreciation than the general population, including those whites in settlements who 'worked with' Aboriginal people but didn't 'engage' at a personal level.

[527] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.

[528] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.

Kean considered the notion of 'relaxed comfortability and mutual acceptance' further, which exposed the final key point, that of 'men's shared purpose' as a guiding principle:[529]

> I suppose lots of relationships and probably particularly relationships for men come out of shared purpose and then grow on from there. So as art advisor I spent time with Mick and he camped very close to where the artist's house was in Papunya. So he was like I mentioned before, he was the first there in the morning for a cup of tea. I very often used to sleep in the front yard at Papunya when it was really hot, and I'd wake up and he was the first thing I'd see, you know he'd wake me up by his presence standing there. Yeah, 'come on put on the kettle'.

Namarari had a friendly ally in Kean and they enjoyed shared interests. Note once again that Namarari exposed his priorities by situating his camp, and his strategy worked for an otherwise quiet man – firstly camping close to PTA's house and then using his silent presence at daybreak until he got Kean's attention.[530] The house's front yard was 'the men's meeting place where they would gather in the mornings'[531] - another indication of Papunya Tula's model of working *with* people. Here, the participants in what I am labelling as compassionate, cross-cultural, strategic, inter-personal alliances could teach each other, unhurried, and gradually build comfortable relationships. It seems that each of PTA's art advisors had to find their own way and Kean was finding his, with Namarari's agency apparent. Kean, in the meantime, was acquiring the Pintupi language and a familiarity with sites in Pintupi country to the west of Papunya. His personal journey into the 'artist-place-story' concept embedded in the painted surface was gathering pace. It constitutes a form of apprenticeship for Aboriginal Art Centre staff to this day. We are left wondering, once again, how Namarari may have responded in an interview if asked to comment on what the relationship with Kean meant to *him*.

Other memories about Namarari stood out for Kean. He remembers sitting with Namarari and discussing paintings together, for Kean was also an artist and Namarari expressed a personal interest in his paintings. Namarari could also be the student willing to learn.[532] Namarari had a genuine interest in the art of other individuals and reached out to share that interest. Namarari also had another particular quality, 'the ability for simply sitting and waiting, he had a most amazing capacity to wait'.[533] Kean seems to be comparing Namarari here to the other men

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[529] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[530] PTA's field worker Wayne Eager noticed when he took Namarari to his house from the painting shed in Kintore on many occasions (in the mid 1990s): 'I used to drop him home for lunch and he'd have a sleep, and he'd do it all in sign language, there wasn't any words'. (Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs).
[531] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[532] Namarari will also discuss 'being an artist' with Tim Johnson in a few years time and with Wayne Eager much later.
[533] John Kean, telephone discussion with author, September 14, 1999.

he knew through his art advisory role, it was a difference he noticed about Namarari. It is unclear how Namarari learned to wait or if he had a natural disposition regarding patience. There may have been countless occasions when he could apply that skill: waiting for a parent to return to camp, waiting in line for rations, waiting to be told what to do when he was a stockman, waiting his turn in ceremonies, waiting for plants in his garden to grow, waiting for a PTA staff member to bring him canvas and materials, waiting for money, the list goes on. Kean also felt that he had 'the least dynamic personality of the main male artists'.[534] Namarari's reticence is a fit with that observation, although it is instructive that the man with the least dynamic personality should prove to be so adept at attracting individuals to his cause and having many people admire him so much (as I show through this thesis).

Kean saw Namarari having 'a very effective' relationship with Papunya Tula, itself characterised by Kean as 'a deep well' of sustenance for the men. Kean also notes that Namarari did not sell his PTA-supplied canvases to third parties (an issue that arose in the 1990s):[535]

> He painted consistently, high quality, he didn't sell his canvases to other people, not that that was a big problem when I was there. You know, he was fantastic to work with. Totally consistent, absolute dream to work with. I was the conduit at the time to the well that everyone hoped would be there for a longer time. And I mean Mick was good with all of the art advisors, he was very patient, skillful, with all of the advisors.

Kean was the last of PTA's advisors to reside for any length of time at Papunya whilst performing that role, though Daphne Williams lived there in the late 1970s when working for the local Council. Kean took a new job at Kintore in the 1980s and recorded Namarari (and other men) singing at the Two Women Dreaming site Ngutjul in 1984, and returned in 1989 in preparation for a major art exhibition when he interviewed Namarari at length. Kean and Namarari were good friends and collaborators well beyond Kean's initial tenure with PTA. I surmise that, given Kean's reflections on his relationship with Namarari and how they become close associates, Namarari also observed how a young fellow such as Kean was educated through their friendship about Aboriginal art and culture. No other PTA staff member matched Kean's determination and ability to engage as a willing student with Namarari.

3 The Browns Bore saga

[534] John Kean, telephone discussion with author, September 14, 1999.
[535] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.

A timely mid-1970s health study suggested that large settlements were part of the problem and outstations were part of the solution for Aboriginal people. Rodney Morice's study at Papunya and Kungkayunti/ Browns Bore (when Namarari was living there, see below) led him to deduce that in effect, Aboriginal people's despondency resulted from not being listened to:

> Because of the white supervision (albeit mostly well intentioned) of most large settlements, Aborigines living on them have largely resigned themselves to non-participation in their own affairs. As a result of what are often inappropriate policies, many have come to recognize that their own feelings and responses to situations are unrelated to the eventual outcome. They see themselves as helpless... (Morice, 1976, p. 941).

Namarari's life reflects increased personal decision-making concerning family mobility and desired stability. This led to a new (and thus experimental) location, Browns Bore, southwest of Papunya and some 30 km south of the present day community at Mt Liebig. It was where the furthermost artesian (water) bore drilled to the west of Haasts Bluff was situated, just a few kilometres north of the site Kungkayunti.[536] It was the location of Joe Multa's outstation, the traditional owner. The area is sandhill country of seemingly endless open space, rocky outcrops to the west, stands of desert oak and scrubby bush.

Browns Bore was a Pintupi attempt at creating a small self-managed settlement, a dreamed-for utopia in proximity to their collective *ngurra,* distanced from the inadequacies of Papunya. Namarari had walked eastwards through this area as a child (between Putarti and Tarruwarra), when he said it was 'not his country' (see Ch. 1). The families at Browns Bore (according to various sources[537]) included those of Mick Namarari, Johnny Scobie, Turkey Tolson, Nosepeg Tjupurrula, George Maxwell, Shorty Lungkata, Ronnie Tjampitjinpa, Bundy Rowe, Joe Multa, Ray Inkamala, Benny Pinabuka and Simon Dixon.[538] They embarked upon a community-building project with great commitment not seen since the Haasts Bluff days, but with a significant difference – the whitefellas were not in charge. To the west of Papunya a similar exercise was underway at Yayayi (the site of Fred Myers' anthropological study of the mid 1970s). The Pintupi had exited Papunya.[539] The glimpses of Namarari's involvement at Browns Bore are few and in just a few years the place was abandoned (as was Yayayi) as its diminishing population returned to Papunya or other outstations. By the late 1970s there was some thirteen outstations in the Papunya region.[540]

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[536] For more details on Kungkayunti, see Smith, 2005, pp. 79-80.
[537] Through discussions with the author, including Ken Hansen, Dick Kimber, John Kean, Alison Multa.
[538] Family groups tended to be identified by senior men's names.
[539] I cannot say 'to a man' but certainly the majority.
[540] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012.

No one lived at Browns Bore prior to the arrival in August 1974 of 'a group of 116 Aborigines who left Papunya to establish their own community'[541] (Maughan & Zimmer, 1986, p. 29). According to Morice (1976, p. 939), 'the site was chosen after a reconnaissance trip by older men of the group', though he does not identify them by name; with 'the main reasons for establishing Kungkayunti [being] to get away from drinking and fighting at Papunya' (Morice, 1976, p. 941). Namarari made another friend in the early 1970s at Haasts Bluff, prior to the move to Browns Bore.

Phillip Toyne was the sole teacher at Haasts Bluff's school when he first met Namarari. Toyne's engagement with local Aboriginal people gave him insights into a 'different world' that 'not all whitefellas showed an inclination to learn about'.[542] Toyne refers to the Aboriginal-led kinship-based relationship-building process as 'co-option', asserting 'there's absolutely no doubt that there was a very well thought out process of co-option… it was their way of fitting whitefellas into their world, which depended on those sorts of relationships being understood'.[543] It resulted in him becoming a kin brother to Tjapaltjarri's[544] thus a brother to Namarari. Toyne recalls helping Pintupi families, including Namarari's, to relocate to Browns Bore in 1974 using his vehicle to ferry 'a whole bunch of people' (see Fig. 10) plus 'their materials for building humpies and things like that and put them on the ground'.[545]

Figure 10 Moving to Browns Bore from Haasts Bluff

[541] Taking all my informants into account, this figure seems too high.
[542] Phillip Toyne, interview with author, June 26, 2009, Canberra.
[543] Phillip Toyne, interview with author, June 26, 2009, Canberra.
[544] Phillip Toyne, interview with author, June 26, 2009, Canberra.
[545] Phillip Toyne, interview with author, June 26, 2009, Canberra.

There seems to be three related attractions for the family groups at Browns Bore. Firstly, their home country (*ngurra*) to the west was closer; secondly, the family groups and close relatives (*walytja*) drew strength in being together; and thirdly, with fewer people and no resident white officials (c.f. Papunya), they had more space and less conflict. At Browns Bore people could come and go as they pleased, unnoticed. According to Morice (1976, p. 940) 'the group was adamant that no white Australians were to live there permanently', though they were 'still dependent on the Government for money and all it provided', which suggests a tension prevailed between the need for the government's resources and the desire for separation from white influences.

How did such a large group of Pintupi people, including Namarari, have the authorisation to move to Browns Bore, which in Aboriginal terms was someone else's land? It is highly unlikely that men such as Namarari would camp on someone's land without permission.

Alison Multa Napurrula and Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa solved this riddle. Alison, a Haasts Bluff resident, stated that 'Browns Bore is my father's country (Joe) and grandfather's country (Barney) and great, great, grandfather's country'.[546] In our conversation at the Ikuntji Art Centre (at Haasts Bluff) she explained why Namarari moved to Browns Bore, or more specifically, under whose authority. Her grandfather, Barney Multa, had married a woman from the Pitlands (Pitjantjatjara country to the south) named Pantjiti. Namarari, on Pantjiti's mother's side, was her Uncle and thus a kin grandfather to Joe Multa. The Browns Bore area was Joe Multa's inherited country and (according to Alison) he gave approval for his grandfather, Namarari, to live there. Leo, a grandson of Namarari, added that Pantjiti was a cousin of Melva Nungurrayi (Namarari's adopted daughter), again making Namarari a kin father to Pantjtiti and thereby a grandfather to Joe Multa.[547] These obscure connections indicate that it is unlikely that all of Namarari's familial and kinship affiliations could ever be delineated.

Browns Bore started from scratch and was built by enthusiasm (see Figs. 11 and 12).[548] Activities included 'the men felling trees for posts at the Haasts Bluff cattle station in return for slaughtered stock' (Morice, 1976, pp. 939-40) and

[546] Conversations with author, Ikuntji Art Centre, Haasts Bluff, April 30, 2010. I made a visit to Haasts Bluff in April 2010 to see who I could meet who may recall Namarari. Through the Art Centre staff a few introductions ensued and a long conversation with Alison Multa and others followed.
[547] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, interview with author, April 29, 2010, Alice Springs.
[548] Phillip Toyne showed me a photograph after our interview he had taken at Browns Bore which showed tents (probably supplied from Papunya) and bough shelters (erected on the spot from local materials).

Figure 11 Making a start at Browns Bore, showing bush shelter poles

'visiting Papunya, Alice Springs and distant settlements such as Docker River to visit relatives of attend traditional ceremonies' (Morice, 1976, p. 940). Living at Browns Bore kept places within reach: Papunya, Haasts Bluff, Mt Liebig, Taruwarra, Winparrku, Irantji, Putarti, Muruntji and adjacent Kungkayunti. Cheap second-hand cars and fuel would have been high priorities for the men to enhance their cherished mobility, both for longer hunting trips and taking families into Papunya. Bush tucker supplemented store-foods brought from Papunya.[549]

Figure 12 Browns Bore camps

[549] About 50% of the community's food was from the Papunya store (Morice, 1976, p. 939).

Browns Bore attracted a range of white officials for various reasons to do with art, education, government services, research (including Morice, see above) and religion. Once people were resettled at Browns Bore, the Haasts Bluff teacher Phillip Toyne visited weekly to conduct classes in rough bush shelters (see Fig. 13) for the children. Alison Multa recalled that 'maybe 30-40 people lived there in tents, using bore water, food came in trucks came from Papunya and Haasts Bluff and there was lots of bush tucker'.[550] Bundy Rowe added that 'Browns Bore lasted a couple of years, some men used to paint there, the Aboriginal men like Namarari made the shelters and went hunting with rifles, Namarari had a shotgun, the ladies went for goannas,' and there was 'plenty of bush tucker for everybody, kangaroos and emus'.[551]

Figure 13 Browns Bore bush shelter

The group managed itself in part through 'three main processes: a consolidation or reintegration of personal identity, the reestablishment of traditional social controls and an increase in the importance of the role of the traditional Aboriginal doctor, or *ngankaritjarra*' (Morice, 1976, p. 940), resulting *inter alia* in improved self-esteem of members (Morice, 1976, p. 941). It is likely that Namarari played some role in his research. On those assessments Namarari was surely happier at Browns Bore than at Papunya. It is likely that the benefits experienced at Browns Bore reminded the Pintupi that they much preferred this manner of living, a hybrid lifestyle with a greater emphasis on their own culture.

Toyne observed that people 'were thrilled to get out into fresh country, they enjoyed being able to hunt and do more traditional things like food gathering and things, that was fairly apparent' though he could not say 'what their

[550] Alison Multa, conversations with author, Ikuntji Art Centre, Haasts Bluff, April 30, 2010.
[551] Conversation with Alison Multa and author, Ikuntji Art Centre, Haasts Bluff, April 30, 2010.

ceremonial or cultural activities were'.[552] Whilst PTA provided a limited service, some paintings (not PTA-supplied canvases) were sold directly to individuals:[553]

> Yeah I'm sure I saw people continuing to paint. [...] I got the impression that there were supply runs being made [by PTA] but it's also possible that people just went into Papunya and got what they needed [materials for painting].

Toyne was both a customer and an ally for the local painters. He said that Haasts Bluff did not maintain a petrol bowser and his personal fuel supply attracted the men, an essential resource once they moved further away to Browns bore: [554]

> I often had painters like Mick and others come to my caravan with boards, and say, you know 'do you want to buy the painting?' and I did buy a number of them and they were for ridiculously small amounts of money [...] ten bucks something like that, but more often they were asking to swap the paintings for fuel [...] And one of the reasons I was reluctant to keep buying these paintings was that [...] I needed the fuel and but I tended to buy the paintings for Christmas presents.

Toyne illustrated the importance of local relationships to the painters as they traded their paintings for instant resources like cash or fuel. The artists' practice of making direct sales to local whites at Papunya continued at Haasts Bluff/ Browns Bore, signifying their pragmatism and PTA's concurrent difficulty in generating sufficient sales income for the artists. Doing on-the-spot deals for fuel, transport, vehicles or cash was part of the local economy and in part depended upon good relationships between artists and their customers. The irregular buy-sell trading was part of a deeper agenda of maintaining relationships in a changing world. Canvas-fuel-cash was the modern equivalent of the scalps-rations-cash exchanges in the 1930s-1940s. Namarari was an experienced practitioner. His ability to generate income and make deals with people like Toyne most likely made him an important man at Browns Bore and the object of some pressure.

At around the same time Myers was at Yayayi, Morice and Moyle were busy at Browns Bore [555] Richard Moyle, a musicologist, conducted fieldwork there on multiple occasions in the mid 1970s. He confirmed Namarari's presence though he could not recall specifically if Namarari was painting. Namarari was a contributor to Moyle's research project into Pintupi music and songs[556] (but not to Myers' research at Yayayi). According to Moyle, the Government Community Advisor visited Browns Bore fortnightly, bringing 'wages' and pension monies and when people had no transport of their own, a truckload of food for sale.

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[552] Phillip Toyne, interview with author, June 26, 2009, Canberra.
[553] Phillip Toyne, interview with author, June 26, 2009, Canberra.
[554] Phillip Toyne, interview with author, June 26, 2009, Canberra.
[555] Illustrating a theme outside this biography, the Pintupi capacity to attract researchers. I am another!
[556] Richard Moyle, email to author, June 5 2010

Occasionally, a District Nurse paid a routine call (Moyle, 1979, p. 9). Moyle also noted the vagaries of life including the impact of bush fires. The population varied such that by March 1976 'only about 40 people were living there' and 'due to economic hardship and a lack of vehicles, there were only four families remaining' by March 1977 (Moyle, 1979, p. 9).

Moyle's (1979, p. 9) confirmation of local work-for-wages programs ('cutting fence posts, clearing an airstrip, removal of domestic rubbish') probably mitigated the pressure to paint for income, notwithstanding Toyne's account of paintings-for-fuel at nearby Haasts Bluff. Perhaps the man recognised as an artist here by Moyle was Namarari or Tolson and perhaps the agent was Holt or Kimber:

> One man was recognised as an artist, and, using canvasses supplied by the artists' agency based at Papunya, painted designs representing mythological figures and scenes, for which he was paid upwards of $50 per canvas when the agent called; other men fashioned spears, boomerangs, clubs and flat stones for sale in Alice Springs (Moyle, 1979, p. 9).

The payment quoted by Moyle of $50 for a painting was well above the five to ten dollars that the artists sold their works at Haasts Bluff, though I expect PTA had larger canvases and expected a certain level of quality. Painting, making artefacts, work programs and pension payments were four income-producing options in the small community.

This painting story [PS#6] reveals Namarari's connection to the site Kungkayunti, associated with the *Kungka Kutjarra tjukurrpa* (Two Women Dreaming).[557] The catalogue raisonne research revealed 'Two Women Dreaming' paintings by Namarari for the sites Kungkayunti, Muruntji, Putja and Ngutjul, including two 'Kungkayunti' works in 1977.[558] One PTA field note from 1995 (MN950939) refers to *Kungka Kutjarra* as 'Mick's mother's dreaming', which may in part explain his authority to paint that *tjukurrpa*. PTA's advisor John Kean took canvases to Browns Bore after mid 1977, including possibly to Namarari, though he does not remember him 'painting a lot out there'.[559] Kean subsequently recorded Mick Namarari, Turkey Tolson and George Tjangala singing the Two Women Dreaming at Ngutjul in 1984, an act that affirms their affiliation to that *tjukurrpa*.[560] The recording remains untranslated and its specific contents are therefore unknown, due to the difficulty associated with understanding and

[557] I visited the area on a field trip with Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa (Namarari's grandson) on November 7, 2009. The Browns Bore location showed no signs of habitation except for an old windmill and water tank, we went past but not to Kungkayunti itself though outstation buildings nearby were visible, then went west to Muruntji, which Leo confirmed was another women's dreaming place, and he pointed out small painted symbols on the rock.

[558] PTA records for paintings in the 1970s do not always show the site name therefore other works may have been done for certain sites without the site being named on the original field notes or the published PTA certificate.

[559] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.

[560] SA Museum, SAMA 926/1. Duration 55 mins.

interpreting *tjukurrpa* song cycles.[561] The recording was played on a continuous loop at a Melbourne art exhibition in 2012.[562] Kean understands that the Two Women's Dreaming links the sites Kungkayunti and Ngutjul and that Turkey Tolson was affiliated with that Dreaming, and that both he and Namarari painted that story.[563] As previously noted, the Namarari, Tolson and Maxwell families were often (if not always) camping together in the 1970s, so the Two Women Dreaming *tjukurrpa* may be another aspect of their affiliation as countrymen.

4 Walytja: the mid 1970s

Family stories about Namarari's life at Browns Bore are limited for two main reasons. Namarari did not discuss it in his Kean and Batty interviews and many original residents have passed away. Like Haasts Bluff, its history has not been written anywhere near that of Papunya. There is another opportunity for oral history to fill some gaps in the public record. Family stories were gathered from Namarari's wife, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, a grandson Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, and Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, an adopted son from Papunya. Namarari welcomed family members coming to visit when he was in the early years of married life.[564] I am left with the impression that people had high hopes for Browns Bore and so its demise may have caused disappointment.

Interview extract 2a

Extract from author's interview with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra: [565]

Alec

And then so after Papunya you told me before that story that tjilpi and other families they got out of Papunya and they went to Browns Bore.

Elizabeth

[561] I requested Ken Hansen to attempt a translation in 2010. After listening to some singing he advised that it would be necessary to 'work with an initiated man and ask questions… there is much implied information… much of the song language is old forms in cryptic reference…' (Hansen, note to author, October 15, 2010).
[562] 'Singing the world', Western Desert art from the collection of Arts Centre Melbourne, exhibited at Arts Centre Melbourne, March-May, 2012. No works by Namarari in exhibition, one work (1983) by Turkey Tolson of 'Kungka Kutjarra'. Exhibition viewed by the author, May 11, 2012.
[563] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[564] Elizabeth told me she worked at Papunya in the 1970s so her job(s) may have required her regular presence at Papunya. (Interview with author, November 18, 2008, Alice Springs)
[565] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.

Browns Bore that's other side of Haasts Bluff, yeah I went there too, me and him went there. Living there, my brother, my family, my uncle Turkey Tolson, Johnny Scobie, everybody.

Alec

Right ok so Tolson is your uncle right, ok because your family and Tolson family and Scobie family all close together.

Elizabeth

Close yeah. And him my husband that time I saw them, used to sit down and do a little bit of canvas you know.

Alec

A little bit of canvas.

Elizabeth

Yuwa.

Alec

At Browns Bore is there a house or a humpy or a tent to live in or ?

Elizabeth

That big tali [sandhill] *there, used to make a humpy. I remember he made a big shade for me and him, not a steel one but* [gesturing a shape constructed from wooden posts] *a stick, forked stick, forked stick, forked stick, and stick, stick, stick and a stick, so we can put mattress and sleep high up from the snakes and the rain.*

Alec

Oh you get up not on the ground.

Elizabeth

House humpy with a bed.

Alec

With a roof and a bed underneath but above the ground because of snakes?

Elizabeth

Yeah because of snakes. And water in the rain time.

Alec

Yep all the water can go away but you don't get wet. Right ok so then after Browns Bore I think you said people stopped living at Browns Bore and maybe went back to Papunya, after Browns Bore finished?

Elizabeth

Yeah Papunya, went back to Papunya.
(End of extract)

In the mid 1970s Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa lived at Papunya, as did Leo's mother Melva Nungurrayi (Namarari's adopted daughter). Part of Leo's role was to keep the family in touch with each other, which he remembered with pleasure.

Interview extract 2b
Extract from author's interview with Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa:[566]

Alec

What about when he [Namarari] *was living at Browns Bore, did you visit him?*

Leo

[566] Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, interview with author, July 29, 2011, Mt Liebig.

Yeah I visited him. Sometimes I would, weekends you know, and stop there sometimes for a bit longer.

Alec

Who was living at Browns Bore when tjilpi was there?

Leo

Johnny Scobie, Ray Inkamala, George Tjangala. Turkey Tolson he lived there too, before Kintore.

Alec

And was Browns Bore a good place to live?

Leo

Yeah it was a good place yeah, next door Joe Multa's place, you know the outstation, Joe Multa was stopping there.

Alec

And so how were people living, were they living in a tent or on the ground?

Leo

Tent and a shade.

Alec

And what did you do when you went there for the weekend?

Leo

When I went there for the weekend I always take him for hunting you know with my old Land Rover. Yeah kangaroo and bush turkey. Maybe through Muruntji.

Alec

Muruntji, west, oh ok, and did the old men, did they like to go hunting?

Leo

Yeah just with the family, his wife Elizabeth, but my mother [Melva Nungurrayi] *was there too, we just went visiting, from Papunya, visiting the old man you know.*

Alec

Yeah ok and then after Browns Bore, those families stayed there a couple of years I think at Browns Bore and then?

Leo

Went back to Papunya.

Alec

Right ok, do you know why they stopped living at Browns Bore?

Leo

Government moved them around. Yeah moving people around. Because old Multa owner of that place, Joe Multa put cattle there now see and moved people out.

Alec

Oh really, so the cattle came in for the water and then moved the people out.

Leo

Yeah.

(End of extract)

Keith Butler Tjungurrayi worked as a stockman at Haasts Bluff after finishing school at Papunya in about 1973-74. He said Namarari was married to Elizabeth about the time that he (Keith) went to Haasts Bluff. When Keith was at Papunya as a child, Namarari lived there and 'then moved and lived at Haasts Bluff, then moved and lived with a group of people again at Browns Bore, then went back to Papunya again and later went to Mt Liebig and then to Kintore'.[567] Keith said 'Browns Bore was all the Pintupi mob, they tried to make an outstation and they stayed there a couple of years'. He visited Namarari at Browns Bore and said that problems there were difficult to overcome:[568]

> Browns Bore had too much sandhills, people had no car, they were too far away with the kids, Nosepeg had an old truck and might have visited there [and] with all of that they [eventually] came back to Papunya.

The family stories have identified some activities at Browns Bore and the people's satisfaction and difficulties. There were many discomforts, including 'snakes and rain water' making camping difficult in rough bush shelters. Hunting for animals and gathering bush tucker was comparatively easier than around Papunya and Haasts Bluff due to the impact of their populations. Namarari undoubtedly enjoyed going hunting with family and friends, during which it is likely they also visited sites he knew from his childhood (for example, Leo specified Muruntji). For the Pintupi living at Browns Bore many water places (ceremonial sites) were much closer (c.f. Papunya) and Namarari for one knew much of the country intimately from his foot-walking days.

Whilst the community was established relatively quickly its demise may have been gradual. No permanent buildings were erected and in contrast to other Western Desert settlements neither the government nor the Lutheran church established any permanent infrastructure (aside from the bore, see Fig. 14). Around 1977-78 the community disintegrated. No specific cause was identified. The people there were affected by bush fires locally and by the discontinuation of award wage positions from afar created in 1974 gone by 1977, with no unemployment benefits or training allowances to fall back on (Davis, 1977, p. 83).

[567] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.
[568] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.

The community's isolation may have also become a disadvantage, particularly for women and children, whereas older men such as Namarari appreciated the isolation for its privacy, easy access to hunting and relative non-interference. The question of 'where are the Pintupi going to live now?' persisted. Namarari was actively engaged in finding an answer through trial and error.

Figure 14 Browns Bore (deserted, 2009)

5 On the move again

Whilst the family stories indicate that Namarari returned to Papunya after Browns Bore, it is also the case that he lived for a time at Alumbara (alt. Lambra) bore in the latter half of 1978. At around this time a small number of young white staff at Papunya became close associates of Namarari and each had a particular impact. One of these was Charlie McMahon, the Community Advisor for Papunya's outstations. McMahon features again in the story of Kintore's establishment (see Ch. 9).

McMahon first met Namarari in July 1978 and was immediately impressed.[569] In mid 1978 Namarari relocated to Alumbara outstation, situated about 10 km north of Yayayi along the creek. McMahon understands that 'there'd been an exchange of objects with the proper Papunya people who I think are Aranda, for the Pintupi to live on that site (Alumbara)'.[570] On that occasion the 'proper exchange' signified that 'it wasn't a government thing, apparently the

[569] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 9, 2012.
[570] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012.

initiative to start the outstation itself was made by the (Aboriginal) people. Nosepeg (Tjupurrula) just walked out there'.[571] It is not known how (or if) Namarari was involved in the negotiations. However, McMahon's account matches Aboriginal politics involved some four years previously in establishing Browns Bore. Janet Holt had recalled a conversation with Namarari in the mid 1970s when she gained the impression he had disposed of some of his scared objects ('he sold them to someone'), which coincidentally was around the time of his marriage and his move to Browns Bore.[572]

Namarari's dwelling at Alumbara was 'a combination of corrugated iron and canvas, a humpy basically'.[573] McMahon and Namarari discovered a common interest, a starting point for their friendship:[574]

> Mick impressed me straight away because he had an amazing little garden there, and that sort of thing had been encouraged but no one had made a success of it like he had. So I'm an avid gardener and we thought it would be one of the activities people would undertake on the outstations, and so Mick and I hit it off quite well straight away. And I'd supply him with materials, like pipes and seeds and stuff. And in the chaos of camp life, maintaining a garden is an extremely hard thing to do but Mick managed to do it somehow.

McMahon said that 'of all the outstations Mick had the only effective garden' and 'part of it was Mick was very much a family man'.[575] Namarari was a skilled and dedicated gardener and understood that a gardener does not make things grow, rather he nurtures and waits.[576] Namarari had developed his skills through exposure to gardening schemes, possibly at Hermannsburg, certainly at Haasts Bluff and Papunya, and his patience was an ally in the vegetable patch. Gardening and painting may have been pastimes where he was both alone and engaged, serving himself and his family. An interesting aside about planting a vegetable garden is the inference that its carer would be expected to live nearby for quite some time, or have an expectation of doing so, in order to use the produce.

McMahon recalled a group trip to Ernabella (in northern South Australia) to see its 'fantastic agriculture setup' as 'they had some interesting gardening work' and remembers that Namarari was on that trip.[577] It occurred in 1978 after twelve Toyotas were purchased for Papunya's outstations, causing 'a huge amount

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[571] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012.
[572] Janet Holt (nee Wilson), interview with author, August 9, 2010.
[573] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012.
[574] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 9, 2012.
[575] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012.
[576] For those unfamiliar with growing a vegetable garden it requires time: for digging or hoeing, planting and weeding, pest control and watering, and finally fresh produce as a reward.
[577] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 8, 2012.

of mobility' though 'they (vehicles) didn't last long'.[578] Namarari did not get one of the new Toyotas,[579] which McMahon surmised was because 'he never threw his weight around like that, he would have realised a Toyota is more trouble than its worth anyway, too much humbug with that sort of stuff'.[580] McMahon reasoned that securing one of the new vehicles meant 'you needed a lot of push, although (Namarari) had a lot of respect, he wasn't the sort of bloke to jump in and scramble'.[581] This is a near-identical description of Namarari by Janet Holt: when limited resources (vehicles now and canvas earlier) are available, some senior men used a competitive approach ('pushy') to secure their portion. One wonders whether Namarari did not learn to be overtly competitive or simply disliked that dynamic, or alternately had an intense dislike of being humbugged (which automatically came with owning a new Toyota). Surprisingly, a new Toyota came his way years later through an entirely different channel (see Ch. 10).

McMahon undertook road trips in the region with Namarari during 1978 and 1979 and had 'other experiences' where he went bush with the men to get away by themselves because the men liked to reminisce, including 'people like Mick, Pinta Pinta [Tjapanangka] and Freddy West [Tjakamarra]'.[582] McMahon is one of many individuals who worked in the Western Desert communities to report that Namarari was someone they liked to associate with and assist. McMahon 'really liked Mick'[583] and the two men undertook some joint ventures, one of which was instrumental in the realisation of the long and deeply held Pintupi dream – a new home on their country in the west (see Ch. 9). Their other venture was a very informal and enjoyable holiday, travelling together to the distant eastern edge of Australia (see Ch. 8). Both those ventures went unpublicised until this study.

Conclusion

The Aboriginal residents of Papunya took advantage of the government's support (including financial) for relocation to outstations as they developed, though for the Pintupi they were still not on their own traditional country. In the mid 1970s Namarari and many relatives lived at Haasts Bluff, Browns Bore and Alumbara with stints at Papunya. Namarari did not speak about life at Browns Bore and other 1970s outstations in his interviews with Kean and Batty. Stories from his relatives, PTA staff and PTA's records have been utilised to sketch Namarari's life story and

[578] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 8, 2012, 'people basically put in $300 to get a brand new vehicle, the remainder paid from ABTA [Aboriginal Benefit Trust Account]'.
[579] McMahon is not sure who got the Toyota on the Alumbara outstation.
[580] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 8, 2012.
[581] Charlie McMahon, discussion with author, March 10, 2012.
[582] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 8, 2012.
[583] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 8, 2012.

circumstances through the mid 1970s. Whilst the AAB underpinned PTA's financial survival, sales were improving marginally.

Namarari preferred the outstations to the main Papunya settlement and made a contribution, perhaps quite significant, to the establishment of a large Pintupi community at Browns Bore, where he continued to paint albeit intermittently. Whilst there he assisted the music researcher Moyle and possibly the health researcher Morice. To the extent that Namarari engaged with or comprehended their agendas, these may have been the first instances outside art-making where he assisted in formal research activity, representing an extension of his cross-cultural educative effort.

Namarari continued to paint for PTA and remained one of the original shareholders. The bulk of Namarari's art income seemed to be for his family and he did not avidly accumulate material possessions. Namarari's annual output of paintings was at its lowest in the mid and late 1970s. Holt and Kimber emphasised the difficulty of 'getting around to the artists' at the more isolated locations during the mid 1970s. Namarari's mobility affected his artistic productivity through being less accessible to PTA staff and their capacity to service the artists was a contributing factor to artistic output. He contributed directly to Kean's orientation to art, culture and country after Kean relocated to Papunya. Namarari's relationships with Kimber and Kean lasted well beyond the 1970s.

If the mid 1970s were characterised more by living in relative isolation with a select number of other families, the late 1970s were a time of relative adventure as Namarari took hold of new opportunities to see more of the world beyond Papunya.

Chapter 8

Papunya and beyond, late 1970s-1982

The atmosphere at Papunya was influenced by the changing national sentiment. Some of Papunya's recently arrived young workers met Aboriginal people at their places of work and then socialised with them informally in their own homes ('white houses'), a far cry from Papunya in the 1960s. The dining rooms and verandahs of those white houses now fomented camaraderie. As Kean reflected, in the eyes of many 'young southern lefties' working in Central Australia, 'the push for Aboriginal control of land and community resources was bound up with and manifest in Papunya Tula painting' (Kean, 2000b). The late 1970s may be the first time where such a pattern consolidated at Papunya, though Namarari had experienced 'beers and chats' at Bardon and Fannin's flat earlier in the decade. I argue that *friendship* itself was a resource when skillfully negotiated on the cross-cultural bridge. The capacity to form bonds from scratch was essential for black and white alike. Namarari knew the kinds of signals to make and those to look for, based on three decades of observing white arrivals and noticing their 'usefulness and sympathies', to requote the Davis report (Davis et al, 1977, p. 91). Many of the bonds formed within Papunya Tula's ambit exemplified the value of cross-cultural friendships founded on mutual respect.

This chapter opens with a progress report on Namarari's painting output and then outlines four adventures he undertook between early 1978 and late 1981. The late 1970s were significant for Namarari, in that he befriended John Kean, Philip Batty, Charlie McMahon and Billy Marshall Stoneking.[584] In various ways they supported his development as an artist, provided opportunities for him to visit capital cites, and promoted his life story to the public beyond Papunya. Namarari was a willing cross-cultural teacher and student and was attractive to individuals wanting to learn more about the Pintupi people or their language because he made himself available. The chapter closes with brief descriptions of his family life and his contact with PTA. The painting stories include a highly significant painting from 1978 that has never been exhibited.

[584] There may also be others I am not aware of.

1 No painting career just yet

Following a period of limited output through the mid 1970s, Namarari produced only fifty paintings for PTA during 1978 -1981: eight, twenty-two, twelve and eight per annum respectively. The two lowest figures (1978 and 1981) corresponded to short periods of painting work for non-PTA sponsors.[585] However, these figures may be compromised by possibility of incomplete PTA records from around 1980-81 due to lost or missing field notes or certificates.[586] The periods January to June 1977 (discussed in Ch. 7) and February to July 1978 remain the longest unbroken periods when Namarari did not paint for the company (according to PTA records). The figures suggest he had reduced opportunity or a reduced need to paint, or a reduced interest for unknown reasons.

In the first half of 1978 the only painting listed by PTA is from January (see below for that story). For the balance of 1978, Namarari did just seven paintings at 'Lumpara' (presumably Alumbara bore). This suggests that Kean (PTA's art advisor) visited the outstation to see the artist(s) living there and that Namarari had indeed vacated Browns Bore. His higher output in 1979 could reflect a relatively stable living situation at Papunya where Kean was also based. Paintings for the years 1979 to 1981 do not always note the place of production, but where it is shown it states 'Papunya'. His reduced output in 1980-81 may also be a consequence of his occasional residency at Mt Liebig and the infrequency of PTA staff visits due to its additional distance (70 km) from Papunya, particularly as Crocker (the art advisor after Kean) was based in Alice Springs.

2 New adventures near and far

Four new adventures resulted from Namarari's cross-cultural alliances: a job with the school teacher Philip Batty, a film role with Geoff Bardon, a holiday with Charlie McMahon and an art exhibition with Billy Marshall Stoneking. Namarari demonstrated a willingness to befriend strangers, try new activities and travel to distant unfamiliar places. Namarari (temporarily) left Papunya in his wake and sailed to some extent into the unknown, which he seemed to like and perhaps really enjoy, for he undertook several trips to coastal capitals in subsequent years. The mid 1960s working trip to Snake Bay may have whetted his appetite.

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[585] In late 1977 through early 1978 he did 'a series of six paintings' for Bardon's film (Bardon, 1991, p. 85) and he did an unknown number of works for the 1981 exhibition in Sydney.

[586] Paul Sweeney, manager of PTA, comment to author, November 2010, Alice Springs; and Daphne Williams, telephone conversation with author, April 21, 2011.

Philip Batty, a young teacher from Melbourne, shared a house with John Kean at Papunya in the late 1970s. One of their neighbours was Billy Marshall Stoneking. Batty taught at the primary school during 1977-78 and first noticed Namarari near the school: 'I used to see him a fair bit at the school, he was hanging around, he'd come around with Warungkula a lot and Kaapa sometimes, he'd hang around there, sit round'.[587] Batty noticed, 'they just wandered around Papunya all day and all night, those old fellas. You know they'd hang around the school, get a bit of paper and do a bit of painting'.[588] Sometimes at the school the old men shared stories with the children. Batty noticed when Namarari spoke that 'he had a sort of a grasp of (storytelling)', in contrast to the more recently arrived Pintupi where 'all you'd really get would be a string of waterholes that they travelled across or names of their mothers and fathers but very little else'.[589] Namarari (and other men) also told stories at Kintore's primary school in the 1980s, some of which were recorded and published (see Ch. 10).

Batty left his teaching job to take a role on the outstations project in 1979, delivering 'food and cheques' to outstations in the region, including 'Alumbara, Kakali bore (previously Yayayi), Ilpilli and Browns Bore but not Mt Liebig'.[590] At that time Namarari became as assistant on the outstations project and developed 'a kind of a working relationship' with Batty.[591] Namarari's friendship helped him secure that role, giving him something worthwhile to do whilst enjoying regular free travel to see people scattered around the outstations (and probably share news and maintain friendships). Batty came to know Namarari and considered that he 'always had a sense of contentment about him, except when he got angry, but he always seemed to be a fairly contented sort of guy':[592]

> Mick was reasonably au fait with whitefella ways, unlike a lot of the later arrived Pintupi, Mick understood what whitefellas wanted from him in terms of the sort of historical account [...] I think Mick was someone that understood the white understandings of narratives. And Mick was generally more in tune with whitefellas, because he'd been in contact with whitefellas for so long.

Batty became 'interested and fascinated' at Papunya with people who had 'an experience of life before Europeans', because it was 'absolutely unique in the world'.[593] That interest motivated Batty to return to the region in the early 1990s to

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[587] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[588] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[589] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[590] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[591] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[592] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[593] Philip Batty, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.

record a major series of oral history interviews with the old men, including Namarari.[594] According to Batty, Namarari demonstrated his familiarity in the late 1970s with the 'whitefella narrative storytelling' structure, whereas the Pintupi who came into Papunya in the 1960s generally did not. This underscores my contention that through his engagement with whites as Mick the stockman, Mick the labourer and Mick the painter, Namarari learned their narrative structure: 'there are no rules for telling a life-story. But there *are* some inevitable conventions [...] there will have to be time, place, character, and events' (Lee, 2009, pp. 123-4, original emphasis). I suggest that this was not altogether unfamiliar territory, for Namarari was already versed (at least to some extent) in the *tjukurrpa* accounts of ancestral creation: 'the ancestral animal got up, it went to that next place, it performed ceremonies there, after a while it travelled on to...' and so on.

Batty noted that some white visitors were interested in Namarari's account of olden times and early days and so he repeated such stories to various intercolutors, gradually aligning his accounts to their interests (presumably, with his limited English). Namarari also learned the meta-lesson: the act of sharing his stories fostered friendship. Thus, his stories were a resource to exchange, a form of a gift. I contend that Namarari's storytelling ability, which required a level of comfort in whitefella company, and his painting engagements contributed significantly to making him a recognisable individual - Mick was, in effect, attractive. Whilst 'Tjapaltjarri' could conduct himself appropriately as a *wati* in Aboriginal society, it meant little to - and was invisible to - the majority of white visitors and staff in Western Desert communities. It is most telling that many of the white informants who contributed to this project and counted themselves as close associates of Namarari nearly always referred to him as 'Mick'. One of those associates was John Kean, and he was instrumental in engaging Namarari to produce his largest known artwork.

This next Painting story shows a work that demonstrates Namarari's capacity to produce the large-scale 'map-style' paintings that artists such as Clifford Possum became renowned for. However, this remains the only-known instance of Namarari producing such a large and significant composition with its great variety of elements.

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[594] That interview substantially informs this thesis, whereas the other interviews remain untranslated, except of part of Benny Tjapaltjarri's.

Figure 15 (MN780126) See Painting story #7

This painting story [PS#7] concerns the large painting by Namarari from early 1978 titled 'Many Dreamings' (MN780126), acquired by the Berndt Museum in Perth for $1,500 (see Fig. 15).[595] It was the largest one completed by Namarari for PTA (and remains so, at 12x7 ft or 360x210 cm), and is a rare example of the very large canvases from that era,[596] undoubtedly earning Namarari the biggest payment to date for a single painting. That comparatively large payment coincided with the income from paintings sales for Bardon's *Mick and the Moon* film in Sydney in 1978.

Kean produced an annotated diagram in consultation with Namarari and this remains the primary document to interpret the composition.[597] The painting amply illustrates Namarari's capacity to work at scale, to integrate multiple narratives and to utilise a variety of motifs in his design. It shows 'at least two major mythological sequences', where the first involving Napaltjarri women and Tjakamarra/Tjapangati men intersects in some way with travelling Tingari men's ceremonies and rituals. Elements of ceremony and country include earth, hairstring belt, bush foods (ipalu, kampurarrpa, ungtungu, burra), night, a sweeping rainbow, *tjampi* (grass) and *tali* (sandhills). There are numerous bold roundels, travelling

[595] I made enquiries of the museum during 2009-2011. I did not view the painting as it was unavailable, held in deep storage pending the museum's relocation.

[596] Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri and Uta Uta Tjangala were regarded as masters of working on that scale.

[597] Copy of Kean's 1978 annotated diagram for MN780126, supplied by the Berndt Museum, February 2010.

paths, and men and women represented by 'U'-shapes in a map-like exposition. Two sites, Marnpi and the lake Mintjilpri are named, each of which Namarari includes elsewhere in his *Malu kutjara tjukurrpa* (Two Kangaroo Dreaming) paintings. This painting represents a challenge to Johnson's claim that 'During the 1970s, only [Clifford Possum's] brother Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri shared with Clifford Possum the idea of combining many Dreaming sites and stories in their geographical relationship to each other on the one canvas' (Johnson, 2004, p. 80).

This significant painting has not been displayed publicly on any occasion.[598] It is illustrated in 'Papunya painting out of the desert' (Johnson, 2007, p. 16) as a front piece to Batty's essay on Namarari. That illustration serves some undefined purpose, for it is not referred to in his essay or in the catalogue, and was not part of the NMA's collection, making it the only painting illustrated in that book that did not belong to the NMA and was not included in its 2007 exhibition. The painting is significant for another reason: following its production, there are no recorded PTA paintings by Namarari for six months until July 1978. Perhaps the financial windfall allowed him a welcome temporary respite and he chose to pursue other interests. This stands in sharp contrast to the position he found himself in after receiving another large payment in 1994 (see Ch. 10), which led to an increased output and no respite.

The next adventure to report involved the placement of Namarari's life and art onto the public record through film. Geoff Bardon returned to Papunya in 1977 as part of his preparation for a documentary about Namarari, *Mick and the Moon*.[599] The film project reflects both their friendship and Bardon's enduring commitment to bring to the public's attention the art and the men he encountered and admired so deeply at Papunya. The film is a cross-cultural artefact, a product of engagement, and a symbol of Bardon's on-going commitment to promote a personal message, as he was not part of any corporation.

Bardon's *Mick and the Moon* is the first and only film known to feature Namarari centrally. It is a documentary that aims to present aspects of Namarari's life, including something of his character and life story, his work as an artist and particularly his Moon Dreaming paintings, and some insights into his culture. In short, it is an ambitious documentary. Yet Bardon's idiosyncratic perceptions pepper the narrated script and he seems to have eschewed historical and anthropological sources available at that time. In adopting an authoritative tone typical of the documentary genre, the film makes numerous unequivocal assertions about Aboriginal culture, which may reflect the times (Australia in the 1970s). The

[598] Barbara Bynder, Berndt Museum, corres to author, March 27, 2013.

[599] The film was at least partly funded with an Aboriginal Arts Board grant (Perkins & Fink 2000, p. 307).

film remains an important document that has received scant attention in the literature concerning Namarari and is rarely referred to as a source of information about Namarari's life, art or culture. The film screened on Australian national television and around the world (Bardon, 1991, p. 84), yet no research has been located describing or analysing the film's public reception. This is not unusual, as no research has been located to identify the public response to any biographies of Aboriginal artists in Australia.

Bardon arranged for his close friends Namarari and Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri to visit his Sydney home in early 1978. The men met Bardon's parents, 'just as in similar Aboriginal custom' and 'were thrilled with the clothes they could buy, and they had to earn money, to work, and they did some film scenes for my film Mick and the Moon'.[600] Namarari completed a suite of works for the film.[601] Namarari was photographed painting one of the works, wearing a headband (Bardon & Bardon, 2004, p. 249). No record has been located concerning Namarari's opinions about that visit to Sydney, his role in the film or his portrayal by its makers.[602] Given Bardon's pivotal role in the establishment of Papunya Tula, it is curious that he bypassed the organisation in his dealings with Namarari and in the production and sale of Namarari's paintings produced for the film.

The portrayal of Namarari in the film is relevant to biography and to cross-cultural representation, as it is a rare document about actors in Western Desert art history. The film can be interpreted two ways: as an affectionate profile of Namarari or as a portrayal of Bardon's encounter with an Aboriginal artist. In the first instance the subject is Namarari, in the second it is Bardon. I argue that the film is a more reliable guide to Bardon's beliefs than it is a guide to Namarari's life history or culture. For example, the film's opening places Namarari and his family at Blackwater – information that was five years out of date in 1978. The voice in the film is that of Bardon, not Namarari: 'Mick Ngumairie Tjapaltjarri paints what he sees. He sees all things.' Bardon did not interview Namarari within the film, nor, I speculate as part of its preparation because he did not speak Pintupi and had no means of engaging a translator. It is of interest to note that other informants who contributed to this study, Myers, Kimber and Kean, were each generating their understandings of Pintupi people and their art in and around the Papunya region in the 1970s at the same time as Bardon.

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[600] Geoff Bardon, interview with author, December 13, 1999, Taree.

[601] Two of these are illustrated in Bardon, 1991, pp. 85-89.

[602] During this project Aboriginal people in Western Desert communities sometimes commented on *Benny and the Dreamers* but not *Mick and the Moon*. I did not interview Geoff Bardon about the film. I do not know if Namarari saw the completed film, it is possible he did so on one of Bardon's many return trips to Papunya.

Bardon wrote that 'Mick was very comfortable as the star' of his film, which 'told the story of an Aboriginal man who believed he owned the moon, and how his duty was to paint ceremonial pictures to fulfil this belief' (Bardon, 1991, p. 84). Whether that was Bardon's or Namarari's contention remains unclear. Namarari appears to perform throughout under close direction, which is usual when a producer is funding a documentary with a given purpose in mind. Namarari does not 'speak to camera' and the source(s) of information about Namarari and his life and art are not stated (one assumes therefore that it is Bardon himself). Namarari is shown singing (in Pintupi) though no translation or sub-titles are provided.[603] In one sense he is a silent actor as the narrator speaks in his stead. The film utilises Namarari's paintings[604] and songs to bring the performer to life to the audience in a series of staged scenes.

A number of extracts serve to illustrate my analysis of the film's portrayal of Namarari. In this first extract Namarari is defined as mysterious and essentially unknowable. The character sketch – like much of the film's narration – uses a series of generalisations, including: 'Mick Ngumairie[605] Tjapaltjarri will not tell you about himself easily, he is a secret man, he is a man within himself and no man knows him truly, he will travel like all the Pintupi, all things are real before your eyes, he will be secret beyond all man and journey even in his own mind'.[606] The assessment is questionable given that Bardon did not speak Pintupi. In contrast, Namarari's portrayal in *Benny and the Dreamers*, where he and Benny spoke to camera in Pintupi, is marked. The idea that 'no man knows him truly' adds to the film's mystique and perhaps Namarari's mystique in Bardon's eyes, making him an attractive choice as a subject. Whilst initiated men undoubtedly carried sensitive or restricted cultural information, Namarari did not present himself as 'a secret man' to other white individuals at that time (such as Fannin, Kean, Kimber and Batty) based on their interviews for this project.

In the second extract the film's narrator states that Namarari is a generous 'bush Aboriginal' with 'a genial happy nature and he often makes presents to his friends'. Bardon tends to present Namarari as a static individual who experiences difficulties in a cross-cultural world, not as someone recently married and adapting

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[603] I discussed Namarari's 'singing of songs' briefly with Elizabeth Marks who said 'I don't know what that means, men's way singing you know'. In a contemporary approach to treat Namarari's singing, it would not be shown publicly until a translation ascertained the nature of the songs. It remains unclear as to how the songs were edited. It is most likely that, given Namarari's return to Papunya, he played no part in the selection of singing sequences for inclusion in 'the final cut', as editing is typically a long and demanding process.

[604] Namarari painted six paintings for the film. See Bardon, 1991, p. 85.

[605] I am using this spelling of Namarari's name in the film's extracts because it closely captures the pronunciation used by the narrator. Bardon uses 'Numieri' as one spelling (1979, p. 15) and 'Namerari' (1991, p. 22).

[606] *Mick and the Moon.*

to a changing world. The four activities referred to here as things Namarari cannot do are Euro-centric: 'As is usual with most bush Aboriginals he speaks little English and he doesn't understand buying methods in shops. He cannot write and doesn't know how to use a telephone'.[607] The third extract links cultural seniority and the authority to paint:[608]

> It is a man's duty to paint his Dreaming stories, stories of his origin and heritage, but not until he reaches the age of forty. Until then, he is not considered senior enough and spends his time hunting and gathering food. Mick Ngumairie is approximately fifty-five years old. He is a senior man able to paint his mother's and father's stories from the old times when he was trained in the bush before the white man.

The categorisation of Namarari as a 'bush Aboriginal' with few skills and trained in the bush 'before the white man' may reflect perceptions in the 1970s, or it may be an attempt by Bardon to garner some empathy from the audience for his subject. In hindsight the script lacks the clarity of Namarari's own descriptions of his life, evident in the Kean (1989) and Batty (1992) interviews, emphasising again that biographical presentations of Aboriginal lives may be problematic when information from a non-bilingual subject is not sourced in their first language. It is unclear why the assertion concerning a 'man's duty' was included, as many men did not 'paint their Dreaming stories', at least in the commercial setting Bardon was alluding to at Papunya. Bardon's perception of the men appears locked into painting, for he wrote at that time, 'It seemed that all the men could paint, and it was in fact their primary language of expression' (Bardon, 1979, p. 15). The age of forty is Bardon's estimation (not a fact), as those Aboriginal men did not measure their ages in numbered years. The notion that they spent their time up until that age 'hunting and gathering' ignores inter alia their ceremonial responsibilities and is inadvertently misleading. The narrator's point about 'being trained in the bush before the white man' is somewhat romantic but inaccurate, as Namarari's necessarily post-initiation cultural education occurred after his contact with white people, though it was beyond their gaze.

The film's closing statement comprises more generalisations and a question that may have been at the heart of Bardon's enquiry: what kind of man is he?[609] Following a series of assertions about 'Aboriginal Dreamtime beliefs' the narrator states:[610]

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[607] *Mick and the Moon.*

[608] *Mick and the Moon.*

[609] It is a question that I too am addressing many decades later and Bardon's film gives me food for thought.

[610] *Mick and the Moon.*

> Mick Ngumairie Tjapaltjarri obeys these traditional Aboriginal beliefs and is very careful of the European requirements and controls placed upon him. His history is fixed and all his rituals are to re-live the past. What kind of man is Mick Ngumairie Tjapaltjarri? He owns many dreamings and shares others. This is something to be reflected upon. In a society where material possessions mean nothing, authority in tribal Aboriginal groups is often obscure and hard to determine.

Bardon's writings tend to confirm the fixity of his perception of Aboriginal culture, neatly summarised here:

> All activity of this world, ritual, ceremony, duty, was decreed by the Dreamtime Beings, creating an unchanging, fixed way of life. Knowledge concerning these supreme events is the power and the effective secrecy of their society (Bardon, 1979, p. 9).

It seems that, for Bardon, culture was a constant and Namarari was locked into its unalterable fabric. In his film Bardon claims that 'material possessions mean nothing' and is presented as fact when it is an opinion. I suggest that for Namarari his ceremonial objects, hunting spears, shotgun, tape recorder and other items were important (not to mention that hat!). It is tempting to conclude that the phrase 'obscure and hard to determine' captures the conundrum of Namarari's identity that challenged Bardon in his own study up to that point (1978), neatly illustrating a gap between black and white that was not easily bridged. Informative answers to questions inherent in the film have tended to come from anthropological studies (for example, Myers at Yayayi and Tonkinson at Jigalong) or deeply engaged individuals (such as Kimber), rather than from casual observers, where the language barrier is one of many impediments to effective cross-cultural education.

The narrator's assertion that Namarari 'owned many dreamings' was borne out by the catalogue raisonne research (see App. 10a) and it does deserve to be reflected upon. It is therefore interesting, if not a little mysterious, that the subject of the paintings Namarari produced for the film (the suite of moon paintings) was not otherwise part of his output for PTA over twenty-seven years. Namarari did only two moon-related paintings, in 1988 (MN880155) and 1994 (MN940681), suggesting it was not an important subject from him. Perhaps he created works especially for the film on Bardon's request as a sign of their friendship, or Bardon had been attracted by something he'd seen in Namarari's earlier work.

Bardon's commitment to his mission created an opportunity for Namarari to act in a film, and he and Tim Leura had a holiday in Sydney with the support of their close friend and admirer. The men returned to Papunya and within a year or so Bardon had released the film and his first book about the beginning of the art movement at Papunya, which featured many paintings from his personal collection (Bardon, 1979). A decade later Bardon returned to the Western Desert and greeted

Namarari (and Charlie Egalie) at Mt Liebig. On Bardon's own account, Namarari displayed little interest in the film: 'I had made a film about Mick Namarari and his Moon Dreaming in 1978 and now I told him of it again and he just nodded in his quiet way, he was just neither this nor that' (Bardon, 2004, p. 6).

Two years later Namarari again departed Papunya and would pass through Sydney for a second time, on an adventure with a new companion, Charlie McMahon. Ever the opportunist, Namarari was ready to move in an instant. In January 1980 McMahon was at Papunya loading up his vehicle, preparing for his holiday to the NSW south coast. Mick and Willy Nakampala Tjungurrayi spotted him and asked if they could join him. McMahon figured, 'well why not?'[611] as the men had seen him packing and they quickly gathered their swags. The group departed Papunya and went via Alice Springs to the road southwards:[612]

> We carried a rifle, always carried a rifle in those days, we got a kangaroo, cooked it up, went to Coober Pedy, washed in the water tank, then via Pt. Augusta, and then through Wilmington, Peterborough, Renmark and I remember one thing that Mick said (in Pintupi) was 'Where are all the blackfellas?' But they were very impressed with the different kangaroos, just starting to get into grey kangaroo country. And then across to Narrandra, and then onto the Hume Highway, all the way to Canberra, and saw Jeremy Long in Canberra. Oh look the smiles, it was a big surprise for him, but we turned up there just like that.

Road travel gave Namarari the opportunity for a closer look at country than aeroplane flight. He seemed to relish the prospect, and dropping in unannounced on his old friend (Long) from Haasts Bluff days (and Papunya) was a bonus. Given Namarari's reported question, he appears to have been surprised that Aborigines were not to be seen. Perhaps he expected much of Australia was something like his own domain, where blackfellas outnumbered whitefellas by a sizeable margin. Travel gave Namarari a point of comparison and Papunya, he may have noticed, was not typical of Australia. He later met Aborigines on the south coast of New South Wales at the end of the long drive:[613]

> Then Araluen, near Moruya and to the coast, the ocean, we camped there and then down to the sea, we camped by the sea, caught fish, cooked them, like the stuff they'd never done before, fantastic [...] Did things they'd never done before, you know, we had a great time. We went out, we met a few local Moruya Aborigines, they were really impressed by (Mick and Willy). Yeah we went to a pub, had a couple of beers. They were very surprised to see these fellas down there. Then they went up with me and camped at my place [...] We had a good holiday.

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[611] Charlie McMahon, interviews with author, January 8 and March 10, 2012.

[612] Charlie McMahon, interviews with author, January 8 and March 10, 2012.

[613] Charlie McMahon, interviews with author, January 8 and March 10, 2012.

McMahon arranged for a friend to drive them north to Sydney and the men flew back to Alice Springs by themselves. 'It was a nice time', McMahon said, 'you know, because I really like Mick and Willy'. McMahon felt that Namarari 'was a most agreeable person to travel with' and 'Mick knew how to get along with whitefellas'.[614] On that occasion his opportunism, his desire for adventure in male company and a respite from Papunya coalesced into a potent mix, timed just right when McMahon was packing the travelling gear into his four-wheel drive. Namarari's life could be construed as one travelling tale after another.

That trip stayed in Namarari's memory. He thought enough of it to recount details of it to Fred Myers on Myers' trip to Kintore in mid 1988. Namarari told Fred that 'he went to Canberra to see Jerry Long with Charley Hook (McMahon) in a car. Saw Jerry Long in his office, high up (the DAA building[615]). He went to the ocean. Charley got two fish with his hook. They saw a big boat, like these hills'.[616] After an eight-year gap Namarari still remembered that Charlie caught *two* fish.

Another of Namarari's adventures sprang, unsurprisingly, from a new friendship. Billy Marshall Stoneking lived and worked at Papunya from December 1978 to January 1983. Namarari and Charlie Tarawa joined him at the Literature Production Centre 'and did some drawings to illustrate the hooks' they were producing. 'Old Tutuma was the main contributor though he was being paid for his work. Obed Raggett and Philip Batty were also involved at the Centre'.[617] Marshall Stoneking had an 'open door' policy at his house, with 'sometimes 20-30 people present, reading, listening to music and chatting'. He recalls that some whites would 'never let Aboriginal people into their houses'. Namarari and Charlie Watuma (they are still close companions) might come to his house together or 'Mick might come on his own'.[618] Later on 'Mick was on the editorial committee' for Marshall Stoneking's book *Singing the Snake.*[619]

For Marshall Stoneking Papunya was 'the height of culture', in some ways like 'living in the centre of a cultural energy' that was 'alive, dramatic, and intensely energising', though it had a 'terrible reputation in the 70s'.[620] Namarari was attracted to and welcome in the Marshall Stoneking and Kean/Batty households. Namarari was interested in what those young fellows were bringing to

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614 Charlie McMahon, interview with author, January 8, 2012.
615 At that time Jeremy Long worked for the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.
616 Recorded by Myers in his notes, June 26, 1988, email to author, June 2011.
617 Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.
618 Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.
619 Marshall Stoneking did not recall specific details about this.
620 Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.

Papunya.[621] They weren't behaving like bosses at all. Perhaps Namarari's confidence lifted in the late 1970s because some whites, like those young fellows, were not telling him what to do. They were willing to engage and learn: they became *interested* in him.

Marshall Stoneking befriended Namarari and often saw him working in the Papunya garden (opposite Billy's house). Namarari showed 'extraordinary dedication, working continuously and diligently in the late 70s to early 80s, industrious and reliable, he kept the whole thing going and when he left it stopped'.[622] Namarari 'had no great command of English' and had moved his camp to join the Pintupi at West Camp'.[623] The literacy worker and poet saw Namarari as 'a quiet man, reticent, and even when he spoke to you he often spoke in whispers' (reminiscent of Bardon's comments) and 'he kept a low profile'.[624] I contend that Namarari's reported low profile should not be confused with a desire to avoid engagement, rather, it was a learned strategy, though I cannot determine its origin and resist the generalisation that 'all those Aboriginal men' were like that.

Marshall Stoneking concluded that Namarari's personality 'was different to so many other older men', exemplified by a striking memory about Namarari's capacity to 'not be noticed': 'You might be in a room with a few people, and after they're gone you think, 'was Namarari here?' He's hardly noticed, he stayed in the background'.[625] How could someone be present and go unnoticed? Marshall Stoneking did not consider Namarari to be one-dimensional, rather he perceived a depth of character in Namarari 'if you had the patience to persevere with him', as he would 'say interesting things', though it was 'him' more than 'anything he said'.[626] Namarari had a 'quiet centredness around which total chaos could be happening and he was not affected by it' though his 'thought processes were happening all the time, you knew he was thinking, it was written deep on his face, you could notice an interior life force'.[627] Marshall Stoneking felt he knew *that* Namarari was thinking just not *what* he was thinking. What is clear is that Namarari attracted Marshall Stoneking into his orbit, a somewhat intriguing achievement for someone who is 'hardly noticed'.

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[621] I have had it put to me informally that the Whitlam era's legacy in Australia included more 'left-wing social welfare' city dwellers becoming interested in going to the NT to do something 'with' Aboriginal people rather than doing something 'to or for' them.

[622] Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.

[623] Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney. He recalls this was around 1979.

[624] Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.

[625] Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.

[626] Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.

[627] Billy Marshall Stoneking, interview with author, May 6, 2011, Sydney.

Namarari's friendship with Marshal Stoneking bore fruit, a trip to Sydney and an art exhibition in August/September 1981.[628] This was Namarari's third visit to Sydney within four years, each an outcome of personal engagement. Marshall Stoneking helped organise an art exhibition for his Pintupi friends Nosepeg Tjupurrula, Tutuma Tjapangati and Namarari. They arrived after their long journey from Papunya and stayed in Balmain, a Sydney suburb (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, pp. 172-73) with a friend of Marshall Stoneking, Nigel Roberts.[629] Marshall Stoneking's account of the Sydney trip has points of interest concerning Namarari.

The group relished the opportunity, 'rising at dawn, out on the town by nine, shopping, lunch, radio interviews, lectures at art schools', and though it was a busy schedule 'the old men didn't seem to mind so long as they were moving they didn't have time to worry about being homesick' (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 173). One day when the men 'went missing' in Balmain, Marshall Stoneking found them at a nearby hotel. 'Nosepeg said 'we were thirsty' and Tutuma giggled 'little bit beer' (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, pp. 174-75). Namarari, apparently, remained silent. City life did not phase them and light socialising included a drink of beer with new albeit temporary friends at the local hotel.

The trio also enjoyed shopping at a second-hand clothing store owned by 'the woman who owned the art gallery' and the men 'couldn't believe their luck' as Namarari 'meticulously selected a wardrobe of sports jackets, one for every day of the week' and gathered up baby clothes (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 175) – his daughter Angelina was born in July 1981 (Johnson, 2008, p. 41). The men enjoyed a take-away meal of 'Thai chicken wings with honey sauce' and filled large bags with second-hand clothes to take home (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 176).

Marshall Stoneking arranged an event at The Alexander Mackie Teachers College. Nosepeg gave a short address to 'more than three hundred students', who 'listened intently as Mick and Nosepeg and Tutama chanted the ancient dreamtime stories that formed the basis of their paintings' (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 176). At another event at the Haymarket Cultural Centre the men conducted a painting workshop for students. Here 'the men had painted symbols on to the boards' and 'allowed the students to finish the paintings under their guidance', filling in the paintings with coloured dots (1993, p. 176). There are no comparable accounts of Namarari or other artists at Papunya painting designs onto boards and having the white locals complete the dotted infill as though it were a classroom exercise. It might have caused a sensation, though the three men had done just that in Sydney

[628] In 1993 Marshall Stoneking published *Taking America Out of the Boy*, in which he recounted these events involving Namarari.

[629] I met Nigel at his home on June 13, 2002, and discussed the artists' visit. He remembered Namarari as 'a great bloke, lovely man'.

with no apparent sensation. Perhaps the men experienced art making was a tool for direct interaction with an audience (even if superficial) and that paintings were not only for passive display on white walls.

Still in Sydney, Marshall Stoneking gave a late-night poetry reading, sharing in public his perceptions of life at Papunya (for the first time with these men present). Namarari's reaction was invigorating for this poet. Marshall Stoneking wrote that 'No one had said anything' when he first sat down but later he 'bumped into Namarari in the hallway' where he took hold of Marshall Stoneking's arm, and whispered in his ear, 'When you were talking I was happy' as there was 'no *parntu*, no bullshit' (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 188). Namarari told him '*nyuntu kurlinu*', which means 'you hear it', which the poet took as a 'great compliment', for in the Western Desert, 'the verb *kurlinu* means both 'to hear' and 'to understand'' (1993, p. 188).[630] Namarari, it seems, was pleased that another whitefella at Papunya had shown interest in learning about Aboriginal people and sharing aspects of that understanding with the public, in English.

The other event organised for the three men in Sydney was an art exhibition. Marshall Stoneking thought Sydney's effect on the men – or the colour range at their disposal – led to 'Tutama and Nosepeg and Mick experimenting, mixing up purples and greens and greens and blues, the paintings were so bright you needed sunglasses' (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 177). Marshall Stoneking's assessment intimates that he perceived the art production process at Papunya was unfairly constrained because the paintings done in Sydney 'didn't look traditional. They didn't look like they'd been done by Aborigines. They looked more like surrealist neons' (1993, p. 177). Marshall Stoneking's complaint was that 'the notion of an unbending, static Aboriginal aesthetic was a lie, and created a rigged game in which both the artist and the viewer were losers' (1993, p. 177). As a kind of champion for their cause as he saw it, Marshall Stoneking asserts 'Tutama and Nosepeg and Mick had the same rights as any artist to use whatever colour they wanted, in whatever combination they liked' (1993, p. 177). Given that painting at Papunya was largely under PTA's direction, Marshall Stoneking for one considered it may have been restricting the men's expression.[631]

Referring again here to the early 1970s, Bardon wrote that 'the men were asked for certain topics to be painted', suggesting 'that when painting they should use traditional ochre colours' and 'we avoided colours that were clearly European:

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[630] Myers discusses these concepts in more detail, as thinking, understanding and hearing 'are expressed by a single term, *kulininpa*, which means literally 'to hear' (Myers, 1991, p. 107). Understanding is about learning how to behave, a requirement of adulthood.

[631] Only a comprehensive inspection of numerous paintings by different artists from that period would reveal the colours used, and to what effect. Very few paintings by Namarari from that period have been located in order to make an informed study.

green, blue, purple' (Bardon, 1979, p. 18). It is not clear what makes them 'clearly European' unless Aboriginal colours are only the red/yellow/black/white often referred to, though original ground paintings are not so constrained. These may be minor examples of how different individuals sought to influence artists such as Namarari by allowing or withholding particular resources in line with their (white Australian) personal philosophy about what was appropriate in Aboriginal art. I tend to perceive the record as one where different individuals were sincerely trying to help the artists in different ways. The men's expedition to Sydney afforded them another view about how things worked beyond Papunya and Namarari used a range of brighter colours in that new environment with an admiring onlooker peering over his shoulder.

Sid Ball and Elaine Townsend hosted the art exhibition during September (Perkins & Fink, 2000, p. 308). According to Johnson (2008, p. 41), the exhibition was 'in support of an Aboriginal controlled health service at Papunya', which makes Namarari part of the first fund-raising art exhibition for improved health facilities in the Western Desert. On the busy opening night, 'Tutama, Nosepeg and Mick relaxed on a rostrum in a corner of the gallery, celebrating the occasion by singing *Tingarri* song cycles'[632] (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 179). This gave the men another direct experience (after the dot-filling exercise with students) of an audience appreciating their paintings.

At least some sales income went to the men, who 'flew back to Alice Springs, their debts paid, their pockets full of twenty- and fifty- dollar notes; they shared a taxi, two hundred and seventy-five kilometres, back to Papunya' (Marshall Stoneking, 1993, p. 179). Once again it appears that Namarari contributed to and benefited from his personal engagement with a resourceful individual, and Namarari returned to Papunya with fresh memories of new experiences not available to local desert dwellers. Marshall Stoneking returned to Papunya around 1984 as the writer-director of his film 'Desert People'.[633] The film features two of the men he took to Sydney in 1981, Tutuma and Nosepeg. An extended series of short scenes shows people preparing for traditional dancing and briefly features Namarari as a singer with his boomerangs clapping the rhythm in the background. He is hardly noticeable.

Namarari had by now experienced at least three examples of disseminating elements of his message directly or indirectly to the white public: paintings, film and the spoken word. A theme is emerging in this telling of Namarari's life that he

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[632] I suspect the audience reaction was similar to contemporary responses I have witnessed in city galleries: people are impressed or thrilled at the sight of old Aboriginal people singing authentically in their midst, without understanding the content of their songs.

[633] SBS, 1984, Producer Lindsay Frazer. Viewed State Library of NSW, Sydney, June 29, 2011.

was a quiet but willing and active ambassador for his culture. It ought to be recognised that over thirty years after the events people such as McMahon and Marshall Stoneking are still relating their stories of Namarari.

3 Painting relationships

It is apparent from those new adventures (above) that Namarari found opportunities for artistic expression, income and travel outside the PTA umbrella in the period 1978-1981, particularly in events sponsored by Bardon and Marshall Stoneking. These may be added to his PTA-sponsored painting activity and his direct sales of paintings to individuals for quick cash or goods. Whilst Kean described Namarari as having a loyalty to PTA (he did not take PTA-supplied canvases and sell them independently), it seems that he wanted the flexibility to take new opportunities (to make and sell paintings) as they arose. It is difficult, retrospectively, to assess if Namarari perceived PTA differently to other suppliers of materials, and how, if at all, that impacted on getting his work into the market. The western view prioritises his responsibility as a PTA shareholder – to act in the best interests of the company. A Pintupi man's view may have been to act in the best interests of himself and his *walytja* at the time, on that day, in the moment; thus I suspect it was not as a moral dilemma for Namarari.

Given Andrew Crocker's employment with PTA (February 1980 to September 1981[634]) he most likely knew Namarari but their relationship remains unknown and no mention of the Namarari Crocker association was located in the literature.[635] Crocker did become a close friend of Namarari's companion Watuma (Crocker refers to him as Charlie Tjaruru Tjungurrayi). Following Crocker's sudden death (late 1980s) Charlie was 'deprived of his patron and became exposed to the ridicule of those who had been jealous of the favours the friendship had earned him' (Johnson, in Benjamin & Weislogel, 2009, p. 66), a reminder of the brittle nature of patronage and the competitive even jealous interaction between (some) artists over their alliances with amenable visiting staff.

Tim Johnson first met Namarari in Alice Springs at Papunya Tula's office ('probably in 1980'), and visited Papunya with his spouse Vivien before spending a month there in 1981 as a temporary replacement for Crocker.[636] Johnson, an artist himself, returned to Papunya many times in the 1980s as an artist, film-maker, art

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[634] Perkins & Fink, 2000, p. 307.

[635] Philip Batty did interview Charlie Tarawa as part of his 'Western desert contact history' research in 1992. That interview, with many others in that series, remains untranslated and therefore unavailable to this project.

[636] Crocker, Billy Stockman and Charlie Tjapangati were in the USA for the 'Aboriginal artists of Australia' tour.

advisor (temporary) and art buyer/collector. During those years the Johnsons developed their understanding of PTA's operations and the artists' participation, which led to many projects, including exhibitions, Tim's collaborative painting activities with Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri, and Vivien's publications.[637]

Johnson had a conversation with Namarari and took his photograph on that first visit to Alice Springs, recalling, 'he was very friendly'. Johnson found a group of paintings at PTA's office (probably 1980 or 1981) and having been invited by Crocker to 'buy everything he wanted', he received Namarari's approval to 'take' the ones that he found, which by then were damaged:[638]

> I think it was like a gift idea, because there were others like that. Actually I think Mick Namari[639] might have been the one who told me I could have some paintings that I found, in the company office, and Kaapa who was there I think. All canvases. [...] And I think Mick Namari was there and he said 'yeah you can have them'. Sort of from [the men], that I could have them [...] He was asserting he had the right to [say that to me].

When Johnson arrived in Papunya Namarari was living at West Camp with other Pintupi, 'Mick Namari lived there, and had a young wife living in a humpy, made of half a water tank'.[640] The striking exchange Johnson remembers occurred when Namarari said to him, 'welcome to my country'. That was 'very thoughtful' and Johnson interpreted it as meaning that Namarari 'still thought of it as his country, rather than as belonging to the white people'. One immediate effect was that Johnson 'felt good' after being approached by Namarari – 'it made me feel it was going to be friendly'.[641] Namarari had made an immediate and memorable impact on the new arrival, however I cannot be sure how Namarari defined his *ngurra* in relation to ownership by white people or the state.

As a rapport-builder 'welcome to my country' is impressive. Just how Namarari defined it as 'his country' is unclear, as the Papunya locality is not Namarari's traditional country by inheritance.[642] Was he speaking as a representative of the Aboriginal artists or did he have particular relationships with traditional owners of the Papunya region that gave him entitlements? Among his PTA paintings, the site Papunya is not identified, though one location nearby is referenced in a painting (see Ch. 6 for the Ulampara painting story), and no

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637 The Johnson's curated an exhibition 'Aboriginal Art of the Western Desert' as early as December 1980 in Sydney (Perkins & Fink, 2000, p. 307), nearly a year before the exhibition reported by Marshall Stoneking.

638 Tim Johnson, interview with author, March 20, 2009, Sydney.

639 This spelling reflects Johnson's pronunciation as 'Nam-ar-ee'.

640 Tim Johnson, interview with author, March 20, 2009, Sydney. Jennifer Isaacs took a photograph in the early 1980s at Papunya of Namarari sitting in front of such a humpy with his completed canvas on the ground (Johnson, 2008, p. 40).

641 Tim Johnson, interview with author, March 20, 2009, Sydney.

642 As far as I can discern using Myers' understanding of landholding (see App. 3).

references connect him to the Honey Ant Dreaming closely associated with Papunya.[643] However, through living there over time with kin, Namarari became affiliated with *place,* a consequence of Aboriginal camping, which is different to the perception of Papunya as a *settlement*, a consequence of government construction. As Myers explained, there is scope to increase the number of places constituting one's country as one moves through life.

Daphne Williams worked at the Centre for Aboriginal Artists & Craftsmen in Alice Springs from mid 1975. Around that time she joined Dick Kimber on a trip south to the Pitjantjatjara lands and observed his style of interaction,[644] one she did not adopt in her subsequent work with PTA:[645]

> From memory this trip was to see where paintings and artefacts were made as we were selling some of them in the Government Gallery and clients were very interested in hearing about the artists and the communities where they lived. Dick Kimber did stories and talked to the artists. He sat and talked and asked questions. I felt more comfortable sitting and listening, hearing things they volunteered to me. It took me a while to get to know them all.

Williams also visited Papunya with John Kean in the late 1970s and 'met Namarari for the first time' and saw him later 'living in a flat with his young wife Elizabeth in the early 1980s' (a flat is a small brick construction, not a humpy). In February 1980 Williams departed Alice Springs for Papunya to work for the local Council.[646] By then 'there was a house for artists provided by Papunya Tula though people painted mostly at their camps around the town', including Namarari.[647]

Williams' first employment stint with PTA was September 1981 to August 1993.[648] Unlike Bardon, Kean, Kimber and Crocker she has not written about her experiences or the art, giving rare interviews instead, including a number for this project.[649] Williams knew Namarari at Papunya and Mt Liebig in the early 1980s before he permanently relocated west to Kintore. She recalls:[650]

> In Papunya Namarari and Charlie Tjapangati often came up together to my place for a cup of tea and a chat in the mornings. It was more comfortable than their camps and they could have a cup of tea while waiting for the canteen to open. This was something a number of the artists did.

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643 This does not prove he is not associated in some way or through some relationship.

644 Williams understood that Kimber could ask more in-depth questions because he was a male. (Daphne Williams, telephone conversation with author, July 1, 2011.)

645 Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.

646 To take up a full-time position with the Papunya Council as an Accountant's assistant.

647 Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.

648 Williams had the longest working association with Namarari of any PTA staff member, as she returned to PTA in 1995 after her earlier 'retirement'.

649 See Hetti Perkins interview with Williams in Perkins & Fink, 2000, pp. 225-233; and Sarita Quinlivan's interview with Williams in the Araluen Art Centre's publication for their 'Unique perspectives' exhibition (2012, pp. 77-79).

650 Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.

Figure 16 (MN821102) See painting story #8

In the early 1980s Namarari produced a painting that was later described as a radical innovation. This painting story [PS#8] concerns what may well be Namarari's first 'field of dots' painting. Further research is needed to determine if it was indeed the first field of dots painting by any PTA artist. It preceded Namarari dotted *Tjunginpa* paintings of the early 1990s by nearly a decade (see Ch. 10). Its radical nature lay in the absence of any traditional elements of Western Desert iconography. 'Wallaby Dreaming' (MN821102, see Fig. 16) is illustrated in the AGSA's Dreamings of the Desert catalogue (1996), together with many PTA paintings from that period.[651] In her accompanying text (concerning Papunya Tula Artists 1978-1988) Johnson wrote of the impression made by the sleeping wallaby that 'dissolves before the viewer's eye into an all-over field of dots', in what was a 'radical innovation' (Johnson, 1996, pp. 40&49). She affirmed Namarari's departure from PTA practice up until that time. That innovation did make the painting stand out in the book: it was the *only* painting devoid of recognisable iconography. It is not possible to determine the precise origin of the composition, though it is possible to speculate on Namarari's inspiration if one is willing to consider how the artist answered (for himself) the hypothetical question: 'what will I paint if the usual symbols are discarded?'

He used one element only – the dot – to fill the canvas. Namarari's answer on this occasion – and into the future on other occasions - was to indicate neither the animal itself (although the *presence* of the animal may be inferred) nor overt

[651] MN821102 (acrylic on canvas, 102 x 102 cms.), illustrated in Dreamings of the Desert, Art Gallery of South Australia, 1996, p. 49. PTA's field notes states: 'Minchilberry. this side Marnpi. Wallaby sleeping in middle. sharp black stones 'maru'.'

references to the *tjukurrpa*. On this occasion the sleeping wallaby leaves an impression on the ground, an indentation mirroring its body shape. The subtle variation on the ground differentiates it from the adjacent sand or grass or stones. Namarari has translated his observation onto a canvas in a way that is also about making an impression. By using black, white and yellow dots of different sizes, grouped in differing densities, and with some just-visible outlining (using dots not lines) of irregular shapes, Namarari found a new way to transfer his knowledge of place and the animal's habits onto a flat surface. Now, exactly *which* shapes on the canvas represent the wallaby remains a mystery and again the viewer can only speculate.

4 Walytja: the late 1970s

I now turn once again to the theme of Namarari's family life and continue to draw on oral history in the absence of Namarari's descriptions of family life in the Kean and Batty interviews, though with insufficient data it is still a fragmented view. The movement of Namarari's family between Papunya and its outstations from the mid 1970s was introduced in the preceding chapter and is followed here.[652] The family stories are from Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra (Namarari's wife) and Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa (one of his grandchildren).

Interview extract 3a

Extract from author's interview with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, where she gives a summary of the family's movements in the late 1970s to early 1980s, after living in Papunya, possibly in 1979:[653]

Alec

*So living in Papunya, then after Papunya was it maybe Mt Lie*big?

Elizabeth

Yeah after that Mt Liebig.

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[652] Namarari may have lived at the following: Papunya 1970-73, Haasts Bluff 1974, Browns Bore 1975-77, Papunya 1978-81, Mt Liebig 1982, Kintore 1983 onwards. (Leo and Fabrianne Peterson, conversation with author, November 23, 2010, Mt Liebig.) A listing of Pintupi movements to and from local outstations appears in Davis (1977) though Hansen provided a slightly different sequence and McMahon shed further light specifically on the late 1970s.

[653] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, Kintore, August 1, 2011.

Alec

Yep so who was living at Mt Liebig?

Elizabeth

Mt Liebig I got Angelina and Peter and Farren, all there at Mt Liebig.

Alec

Yeah your children, so now you're a busy mother three children looking after them. Ok at Liebig and so now at Liebig is your family and maybe Scobie family?

Elizabeth

Scobie family and maybe my uncle's finished, only sons and wife, Narbula Scobie.

Alec

Oh yes and what about Tolson mob where are they?

Elizabeth

Tolson family and Pamela there in Mt Liebig.
(End of extract)

The chronology and family connections need clarification here. Namarari's family lived at Papunya and Mt Liebig for part of 1980-82 and visited Mt Liebig in the 1980s-1990s because of close relatives there, including the Scobie, Tolson and Peterson families. Mt Liebig had been the site for the BAR group's 1932 research project, then had a bore sunk for watering cattle in the late 1940s, and it was set up as an outstation in the late 1970s. It is most likely through the mid or late 1930s and 1940s that Namarari and his family had included Mt Liebig in their meanderings when drifting in and out of the Haasts Bluff and Glen Helen areas, and was a place he felt an affinity with from the familiarity borne of foot walking and camping.

Firstly, to review some family connections. The uncle who Elizabeth refers to as 'finished' is Johnny Scobie Tjapanangka, who passed away in 2000 (Johnson, 2008, p. 193). His wife Narbula Scobie (alt. Narpula) was Turkey Tolson's sister. Turkey Tolson became Elizabeth's mother's second husband and though this may sound complicated, it meant that: in generational terms Namarari was older than Turkey Tolson (by about twenty years), in kinship terms Namarari was 'uncle-nephew' (Tjapaltjarri-Tjupurrula) with Turkey Tolson, and consequent to his marriage Tolson became Namarari's father-in-law. Additionally (but invisible to this study), they may have had ceremonial affiliations, with the likelihood that both their fathers were closely associated with a highly significant men's site, Mitukatjirri[654] (west of Marnpi and Yuwalki). The Peterson family also resided at Mt Liebig, remembering that Namarari's first daughter, Melva Nungurrayi (Wingulya Nakamarra's daughter) had married Yala Peterson Tjangala. The point of all this is the impetus it gives for Namarari to camp at Mt Liebig, not Papunya or Kintore, for Namarari was intimately connected to the Tolson and Scobie families.

Secondly, to the chronology, which has already revealed that Namarari's and other families did not move neatly for set time periods from one place to the next. In the above extract Elizabeth was referring mainly to the 1990s and beyond, not the early 1980s. The first daughter of Namarari and Elizabeth, Angelina, was born in 1981, Peter was born in 1984 and Farren were born in 1989. Melva and Yala Peterson's family lived at Mt Liebig after shifting from Papunya, as Yala's country was in that region. Once again, even though the Pintupi majority moved from Papunya to Kintore in 1981, Namarari and his family lived at Mt Liebig for the same reason he had lived at Browns Bore when most Pintupi were at Yayayi – family and kin.

Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa (Namarari's granddaughter, who married Ashley Scobie Tjapanangka) recalls, 'the Turner families, Peterson families, Melva and all the families' were at Mt Liebig.[655] Fabrianne had been sent to high school (Yirara College) in Alice Springs from Papunya, and when she finished she went 'straight back to Mt Liebig instead of to Papunya and there, he was living there, old man' (Namarari) with Elizabeth.[656] On my calculation Fabrianne returned to Mt Liebig in the late 1970s. She described Mt Liebig in its early stages as having 'four or five small tin houses and a little clinic in the middle, no shop', adding that

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[654] Namarari did numerous Mitukatjirri-related paintings, particularly in the mid 1970s and early 1980s: MN735711, MN74954, MN75930, MN76123, MN820509, MN821128, MN831048, MN840430, MN850107.

[655] Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa, interview with author, November 18, 2008, Alice Springs.

[656] Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa, interview with author, November 18, 2008, Alice Springs.

Daphne Williams 'dropped in canvas for us, and for that old man'.[657] Fabrianne recalls that she sat and talked with her grandfather 'always with the campfire' and 'we used to go hunting and camping out'.[658] Namarari, it would appear, very much enjoyed the company of his grandchildren.

Conclusion

In this and the preceding chapters I have noted Namarari's limited and irregular painting output through the mid to late 1970s. I have explained this as a consequence of his mobility and the difficulty that PTA staff had to service his needs (providing and collecting canvases). He may have supplemented his PTA income by working in government sponsored jobs and by selling paintings privately. In any event painting was an occasional activity and, I argue, did not constitute regular work. However, being an artist provided him with visibility and a reputation, which in turn generated opportunities via the friendship bridge, such as the Sydney trips with Bardon and Marshall Stoneking.

Namarari and Elizabeth had their first child (Angelina) in 1981 so being close to family assumed a greater importance. Some of Elizabeth's closest family members resided at Mt Liebig so unsurprisingly Namarari was often there, not at Papunya. Namarari also delayed his move to Kintore (in 1981-82) by living frequently at Mt Liebig.

I have suggested that Namarari was open to trying new activities. The Bardon and McMahon episodes in 1978 and 1980 respectively reflected his willingness to try different experiences and he gained new insights, be they ever so small, about the Australian way of life beyond Papunya. One wonders whether it was Tim Leura (in 1978) or Willy Nakamapla (in 1980) or Namarari himself who was the prime mover in attracting Bardon and McMahon. Nonetheless, accounts here from such individuals as Kean, McMahon and Marshall Stoneking underline the role of Aboriginal agency. Whilst Aboriginal culture is often characterised by its collectivity, individuals such as Namarari made themselves available and more visible to the non-Aboriginal gaze.[659] I continue to argue for the utility of a biographical approach by using the prism of an individual's life story to review broader narratives, such as the development of Papunya Tula, the Pintupi journey through the twentieth century and the evolution of cross-cultural relationships in

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[657] Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa, interview with author, November 18, 2008, Alice Springs.
[658] Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa, interview with author, November 18, 2008, Alice Springs.
[659] As did people such as Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri, Nosepeg Tjupurrula, Charlie Watuma Tjungurrayi.

parts of the Western Desert. There is an endeavour here to answer a question that limited evidence makes difficult, 'what was he like?' (Lee, 2009, p. 124).

However, Namarari was not only busy in the late 1970s with matters of family and relocation, painting and travel adventures, he was also involved in the main Pintupi project of the day: the return to the west. That enterprise's resolution can be captured by a single word: *Kintore.* In the coming chapter this narrative looks toward a bare patch of ground that became the destination the Pintupi were dreaming of for so long. Namarari plays his part too.

Chapter 9

Return, resettle, rebuild: the 1980s

The story of Pintupi journeying with a focus on Namarari has been followed alongside the sequence of Commonwealth policies (1930s-1970s): protection and segregation, assimilation and self-determination. The rejection of Papunya by many Pintupi and their outstation experiences through the 1970s ultimately produced a desirable (seemingly for all parties) result: Kintore, or *Walungurru*.[660] Kintore, to the far west of Alice Springs (see Map Two, p. x), recently celebrated its thirtieth anniversary (in 2011), with the promotional brochure announcing 'A celebration of where we have come from and what makes us Proud to be Pintupi'.[661]

In the early 1980s Namarari did not join the initial relocation to Kintore with the majority, instead moving between Mt Liebig and Kintore. Kintore was one of a long sequence of camping places for Namarari, which included (following the departure from his *ngurra* to the near east of Kintore in the 1930s): Ilpilli, Putarti and Iranytji; Hermannsburg, Alalpi, Glen Helen, Tempe Downs and the Haasts Bluff area; Papunya, including nearby Blackwater; Haasts Bluff (again), Browns Bore and Alumbara; Papunya (again), Mt Liebig and finally to Kintore, except that Kintore itself was not exactly the end of the road. Namarari and Elizabeth had three children in the 1980s: Angelina (b1981), Peter (b1984) and Farren (b1989).[662]

This chapter begins with Kintore's genesis, in which Namarari played an important role. The development of his outstation follows with its own series of frustrating hurdles. Namarari's contact with his country is glimpsed through his site visits with various acquaintances, his ongoing relationship with Papunya Tula staff and his art. Namarari continues to be on the move with his family, residing at various times at Mt Liebig or Papunya and Kintore, and on outstations at Nyunmanu and Ngutjul.

1 A prelude to re-settlement: finding Kintore

The establishment of Kintore was a profoundly different exercise to both Haasts Bluff and Papunya, though one thing in common was a singular necessity: a

[660] The Aboriginal place name is Walungurru. I will use the name Kintore here. I was given an introductory explanation and drawing of the Ngintaka story associated with the Men's Mountain by Reggie Baldock Tjampitjinpa at Kintore on a field trip, November 9, 2009.
[661] 'Walungurru 30 year celebration' 2011 brochure (nd).
[662] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, May 31, 2013, Kintore.

new desert settlement needed a reliable water supply for the comparatively large, mostly sedentary population. Kimber was engaged in the process with Pintupi men and government agencies, and recalls, 'in the 1978-1980 period during the course of travelling with various Pintupi people to their homelands, they stated their desires to the appropriate authorities'.[663] Although Namarari speaks about the relocation to Kintore in *Benny and the Dreamers*, an examination of the film's unpublished interview transcripts revealed his role more clearly, showing that Namarari made an important and previously unnoticed contribution.

Interview extract 1a

Extract from the interview transcripts for *Benny and the Dreamers*, where Namarari and Benny are discussing the move from Papunya to Kintore. At one point Benny interjects (noted in the original transcript by the translator), whispering to Namarari that he might be wrong:[664]

Namarari

I remember this. At Papunya people were killing each other. We were worried about this, and so were the whitefellas. Before the bore was there I travelled out with some others to have a look at the country at Kintore.

Benny

(whispering) *There was a bore there then.*

Namarari

No, I'm telling you, there was no bore there at the time I went out. We put an iron peg at Kintore and also at Redbank. We came back and we told them to put bores down at the places where the iron pegs are. Then the water people came out and put bores in out there. Then they put windmills[665] in and then they said 'OK everything is ready for you. You can come out now. You can shift out.'

Hansen

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[663] Dick Kimber, interview with author, August 6, 1999, Alice Springs.
[664] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri, translations for the film Benny and the Dreamers, Supplement. Translation by John Heffernan. 1992. Property of Philip Batty, viewed October 2011.
[665] A bore located the underground water supply, it then had to be pumped to the surface using a windmill.

Why did you want to leave Papunya?

Namarari

Other people were waiting to go away from Papunya because there were too many people killing each other. They had a meeting and the government told us it was alright to move to Kintore. Well people lived at Kintore after that. We thought this was a good idea.

(End of extract)

Namarari pinpointed pertinent features of the relocation process. He says that the Pintupi and the whitefellas were in agreement about Papunya's decline, and that the Pintupi expected, then waited for and finally received the government's approval when the time was right (viz. the water supply was adequate) to make the move. Whilst the Pintupi had the physical capacity to return west at their discretion, they were reliant upon the provision of basic services supplied by the government for their relocation. It is likely that through their collective experiences on outstations in larger numbers they saw that government services were essential for a settled community. More broadly, it seems that the Pintupi had developed an expectation that government would provide basic services to support their families. The government and the Hermannsburg mission initiated that pattern when distributing rations in the 1930s-40s.

Charlie McMahon supports Namarari's version of events, for it was McMahon who took Namarari to search for a potential water supply in October 1978. McMahon said the men 'wanted water way out there' and remembers Namarari and other men persisting with their requests through 'lots of meetings', involving men such as Namarari, Benny Tjapaltjarri and Pinta Pinta Tjapanangka – 'they were always talking about *wilurata* (west) country'.[666] McMahon remembered the trip itself with pride and pleasure. The travelling group, including McMahon, Namarari, Benny, plus wives and children, stopped and identified possible drilling locations, including at (present-day) Kintore:[667]

> We made this amazing journey all the way out as far as Winparrku, just before [present-day] Kiwirrkura.[668] And we stopped at these places along the way, and Mick and Benny went to these old places where they had lived, in what they used to call 'before trouser time'. And it was quite amazing because these places we'd turn up there and they'd go straight away to the place and they'd be finding old seed grinding stones that were

[666] Summarised from McMahon's interview with the author, March 10, 2012, Sydney.
[667] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012, Sydney.
[668] Subsequent to the making of Kintore, a settlement further west (in WA) was established at Kiwirrkura in 1984. Namarari did not live there.

> hollowed out from grinding seeds. And they got all teary and singing and all that kind of thing. And because of the trip you know to find a few possible sites and the one that they thought was the best turned out to be Kintore Ranges.

McMahon said Namarari and Benny 'loved it' and he noted that 'Mick and Benny knew where the two springs were at Kintore', even though there were 'no tracks' ('they were guiding, it's not where the bore is now, it's up in the hill a bit').[669] The 1978 trip out west may have been the first time Namarari had seen some of that isolated country in decades, yet according to McMahon it was familiar to him. Some of Namarari's relatives were from country to the west of Kintore and perhaps he moved through there as a child, though he did not mention that in his Kean and Batty interviews. Upon his return to Papunya McMahon prepared a report and as a result Kintore was recommended for bore drilling (to establish a water supply). Namarari then surprised McMahon with a touch of generosity: 'Mick gave me a Water Dreaming painting. Though they knew I wasn't really interested in collecting paintings. It's a beautiful little thing'.[670] McMahon has kept the painting, a memento of shared friendship. McMahon 'can't put a date' on when Namarari and Elizabeth shifted out to Kintore but 'he wasn't there initially'.[671]

Kintore was not a ready-made settlement like Papunya or the organic product of persistent camping and rationing like Haasts Bluff. Monica Nangala recalls Smithy Zimran Tjampitjinpa as the 'strong talker' in Kintore's establishment period, whereas Namarari was 'quiet'.[672] Marlene Nampitjinpa remembers Kintore developing 'from the ground up' in the early 1980s: people living in tents and *wilytjas*, scavenging for wood, relying on the single tap for water, hunting for bush tucker and looking out for the store-truck's weekly arrival.[673] Daphne Williams recalled that 'Namarari didn't move from Papunya to Kintore with the very first group that went out there', perhaps he went in about 1982.[674] According to Williams, 'people who went west started painting straight away', living 'in bush shelters before moving into basic dwellings later on'. Williams recalls Namarari at Kintore during the 1980s when he 'spent more time in Kintore itself, partly so his family could be closer to the clinic'.[675] Ken Hansen lived at Kintore during most of 1980-84 and said 'Namarari wasn't there first off, he might have been visiting time to time, later he was there but wasn't in any of the literacy classes', adding 'he was getting a bit old and didn't learn to read with

[669] Charlie McMahon, interview with author, March 10, 2012, Sydney.
[670] Charlie McMahon, interview with the author, March 10, 2012, Sydney.
[671] Charlie McMahon, interview with the author, March 10, 2012, Sydney.
[672] Monica Robinson Nangala, interview with author, Kintore, June 3, 2013; NT Archives Service, Darwin, (NT government history grant).
[673] Marlene Nampitjinpa, interview with author, August 9, 2011, Kintore.
[674] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.
[675] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.

me'.[676] It may be that some of the older men saw a link between literacy classes and bible studies (Hansen was a Lutheran pastor) and did not feel a need to be involved. Namarari had managed thus far in the cross-cultural zone with limited English, and (entering his sixties) did not have an identifiable need to attend English classes.

The Pintupi were happy in those early years at Kintore to have 'their own place'[677] and believed in its adequacy, suitability and permanency. In *Benny and the Dreamers*, Namarari stated his satisfaction too. The narrator, speaking for the Pintupi people, introduces Kintore as a hopeful new start with the goal of being a place where 'the balance between white values and traditional culture'[678] can be controlled by the Pintupi themselves, an acknowledgement of the power imbalance embedded at Papunya. Namarari was optimistic, stating in 1992:[679]

> Well people decided to stay put at Kintore. I thought this was good, really great. And Benny began a small clinic out there. He was the first health worker, with the medicines. I thought this was fantastic, having just come from Papunya. Those who were murderers in Papunya are now sober at Kintore.

Namarari's wife Elizabeth expressed similar sentiments. In relation to the distress at Papunya in the 1970s she said, 'we're losing a lot of family drinking, fighting', consequently 'all the tjilpis decided to come back to traditional country, that's why we all here, we moved back to here (Kintore) and we're right here now'.[680] Though there must have been many discussions and negotiations, it does seem that 'all the tjilpis' acted in unison to manifest their vision of a new home. That move to the west and the continuing oversight of PTA through the 1970s and 1980s represent two visible examples of corporate endeavour in the cross-cultural milieu involving many senior Pintupi men, including Namarari. From the outset Kintore had a Council[681] that made decisions and a Community Advisor (Charlie McMahon in the early 1980s) who 'helped with all the liaison with the whitefella world and administration and so on' and according to Hansen, 'Mick would have gone along with that and been part of that, he would have felt that was important, to have a say'.[682] Concurrent with Kintore's development as a resource centre was the construction of outstations.

2 The outstations saga and living on country

[676] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh.
[677] Marlene Nampitjinpa, interview with author, August 9, 2011, Kintore.
[678] Narrator, Benny and the Dreamers, 1993.
[679] Mick Namarari, Benny and the Dreamers, 1993.
[680] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.
[681] Enabled by The Commonwealth Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act, 1976.
[682] Ken Hansen, interview with author, October 27, 2009, Canyonleigh.

The process that provided Namarari with an outstation was convoluted and began with the suitability of the location, which relates directly to Namarari's *tjukurrpa*. This painting story [PS#9] links place, family, *tjukurrpa* and the individual, and establishes Namarari's cultural connection to his outstation location in the 1980s. His affiliation to that place may have come from two sources. The first is his mother Meiyenu, with one PTA field note stating 'Nyunman [as] mother's country' (MN920735). The second is a Tjungurrayi man named Katinkura (referred to in Ch. 1), another father of Namarari. Katinkura was affiliated with the site Nyunmanu and was Cameron Tjapaltjarri's father. Cameron began painting in 1987 under Namarari's instruction, with one of his subject's also being the Dingo Dreaming at Nyunmanu (see Johnson, 2008, p. 228). Nyunmanu is therefore associated with the Tjungurrayi-Tjapaltjarri subsections, and given that Namarari's own birthplace Marnpi is nearby, it is not surprising that the area was selected to locate his outstation. The flat open country immediately north of the Nyunmanu site is infinitely more suited to the erection of a permanent dwelling in comparison to Marnpi's sandhill terrain. It is also notable that Turkey Tolson chose the comparatively nearby site of Yuwalki for his outstation, which is between Nyunmanu/Marnpi and a significant men's site, Mitukatjirri.

Namarari painted the *Papa tjukurrpa*, (Dingo Dreaming) for the site Nyunmanu throughout his career, completing fifty-seven paintings on that subject between 1974 and 1998 (see App. 10c). There was only a handful of Dingo paintings identified for the 1970s.[683] However, since the 1970s paintings were often catalogued without the associated site or the story, the list is not exhaustive. The Dingo Dreaming was a frequent subject of Namarari's 1980s and 1990s paintings, with the most being eight in 1988 when he was probably living at his outstation. Nyunmanu itself is a men's only site according to Elizabeth (Namarari's widow), who said it was 'secret' for men only and therefore she could not take me there, only 'the old tjilpis' in Kintore could do so (if I had requested to visit the place).[684]

The Federal government promoted the development of an outstations-based lifestyle and funded an extensive construction program in the Western Desert.[685] One of the strongest advocates in Canberra was HC (Nugget) Coombs[686],

[683] Dingo puppies (#19307, 1972), Dingo Dreaming at site northeast of Marnpi (#19213, 1972; Deutscher & Hackett auction catalogue, lot 11, p. 29, 2011; Tjukurrtjanu catalogue, p. 169, 2011), Dingo Dreaming (MN740624, 1974; Mossgreen auction catalogue, lot 6, 2012), Flying Dingoes (MN74075, 1974; NMA Collection, see Johnson, 2007„pp. 25 & 52) and Papa (dingo) at Yunmanu (MN771166, 1977).

[684] Field trip to Nyunmanu outstation (and Kintore) with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, July 30, 2011.

[685] This period saw the prominence in policy making by individuals such as 'Nugget' Coombs and Barrie Dexter.

who, in promoting their economic viability, relied heavily on art as the basis of exchange and missed a costly import – vehicles (outstations were, by definition, isolated). Coombs was optimistic. Given the recent history of outstations in the Papunya region, his comment on self-sufficiency might be applicable to large settlements, but not to the smaller outstations:

> Homeland settlements may, for some time, continue to be largely autonomous and self-sufficient economic units. [...] Exports, except where the community concerned is linked with an Aboriginal-owned cattle property, will generally be confined to art and crafts and occasional surpluses. Imports will be diverse and include white-style food and clothing, fuel, tools and building materials. They will be financed by sales of artefacts and art, by the earnings of those employed in providing government-sponsored services in education, health, town management and so on... (Coombs, 1994, pp. 25-26).

In contrast that view from Canberra, Peter Bartlett gained a close-up perspective when employed as the Outstation Coordinator at Kintore from 1987 to 1997.[687] He appreciated why Namarari's outstation took so long to build, and therefore contributed (according to Bartlett) to Namarari's frustration. Namarari was a member of Kintore's Aboriginal association ('of about 150 people') responsible for local development, and Bartlett became familiar with his style of participation. At its general meetings 'everyone would come' and at executive meetings it would be 'the principal heads including Mick Namarari, Turkey Tolson, Ronnie Tjampitjinpa, Jack Kunti Kunti, Yala Yala Gibbs, Uta Uta Tjangala'.[688] It was Bartlett's job to juggle the demands of people whose outstations were to the west of Kintore with those on the eastern side, such as Namarari (at Nyunman), Turkey Tolson (at Yuwalki) and the Maxwell family (at Ngutjul). The west won the day and the east side people had to wait.

The construction of an outstation involved numerous stages: choosing a suitable location, proving its suitability, transporting the materials and then constructing the facilities for occupation. It was a time-consuming process, especially 'proving your case'. Once an appropriate site had been selected the family had to 'prove' its suitability by 'living on the outstation for three years with a handpump before it would be drilled for a bore', thus they needed 'to survive on drum water for three years to prove their worth'.[689] A basic besser block shelter could then be erected to provide a self-contained dwelling. However, that time-consuming ideal scenario did not factor in the isolation experienced – particularly

[686] The Office of Aboriginal Affairs was established in September 1967 and Coombs was appointed chairman'. (Coombs, 1994, p. 172)
[687] The information from Bartlett in this section is drawn from his interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs. He had not previously published the bulk of this material or recorded an oral history.
[688] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.
[689] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

by women and children and the countering effect of an increasing range of facilities nearby in Kintore. The political and social tensions between the two models - resource centre and isolated outstation - surfaced again. However, as had been the case for forty years, the question persisted: where (and how) shall these Pintupi people live?

Bartlett's experience at the coalface convinced him that the local problems he witnessed stemmed largely from a distant cause: the policy conflict between federal and NT authorities. The federal government favoured outstations whereas the main settlements (like Kintore) were a NT priority. According to Bartlett, houses were being built a lot faster in Kintore, resulting in people staying there and waiting for their outstation to be built. Papunya-style scenarios were repeating (see Davis, 1977), as disparities between the policies and priorities of differing arms of government created local confusion and mistrust.

The building of outstations was an expensive and slow business. Each ought to conform to a basic standard, which for Bartlett included 'a dwelling, a toilet, a good water supply, rainwater tanks, lights to see at night', and preferably 'a phone, a television, a solar-powered fridge, satellite dishes, solar batteries, lights, and a nice fence around'.[690] According to Bartlett, 'Mick (Namarari) and Turkey (Tolson) were really keen, they wanted their own outstations, they wanted to be on their own country'. Namarari's passivity also worked against him as sporadic ('drip-feed') funding only allowed one to two outstations to be constructed per year, and 'Mick being the quiet one in the scale of these things, is naturally the one who's left to last'.[691] Namarari's capacity for waiting was being tested. He remained with his family in Kintore or visited relatives at Mt Liebig and problems emerged at some of Kintore's outstations.

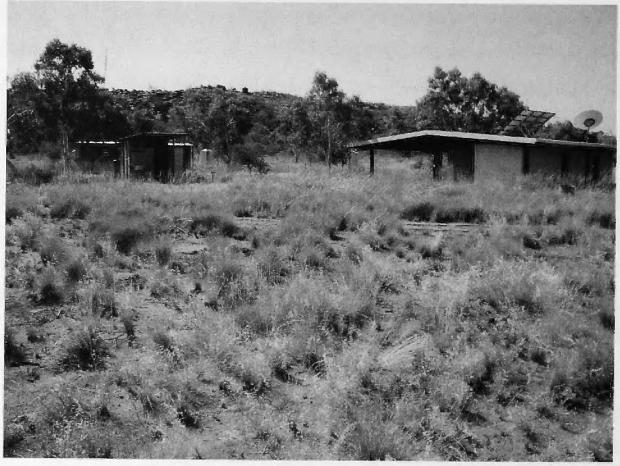
Three problems beset Namarari's outstation: the water supply, its isolation, and the inadequacy of firewood. The local ground water had a very high iron content and needed to be treated for drinking. Bartlett's team added a second water tank and a filtering system, which took a further year to complete, and was another example for Bartlett of 'a lot of problems that outsiders couldn't see, couldn't understand'.[692] Namarari could see. He had come to expect influential whitefellas to 'look after him', to do the right thing, to get the job done. One day his anger boiled over in Kintore. He was expecting Bartlett to drive him back to the outstation, but he was busy and asked another man to be the driver.[693] A furious Namarari grabbed an axe from nearby and put 'about six chop marks', expertly-

[690] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.
[691] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.
[692] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.
[693] This anecdote is from Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

directed, into the Toyota's door, with the driver sitting at the wheel. One wonders whether Namarari's oft-perceived quiet demeanour was in part about keeping his emotions in check, masking a contained character who on occasion could erupt when an invisible line of tolerance was crossed.

With the facilities expanding in nearby Kintore, it is difficult to imagine how Namarari and his young family could endure the isolation and comparable lack of facilities at Nyunmanu. The distance from the outstation to Kintore (up to an hour's drive), combined with a lack of vehicles and available drivers, contributed to the feeling and reality of isolation. Vehicles were also essential for collecting firewood once it became scarce within walking distance of a dwelling. Bartlett knew that Namarari, with his increasing age, 'wasn't always fit enough to get firewood, particularly where you need appropriate Toyotas'.[694] Old men like Namarari expected 'young fellas' to look after them by getting their firewood[695] and Bartlett was under continual pressure to 'look after the tjilpis' with his Toyota, so 'every now and then we'd go down (to Nyunmanu) and get a bit of firewood for him'.[696] Bartlett had similar demands from other outstation occupants.

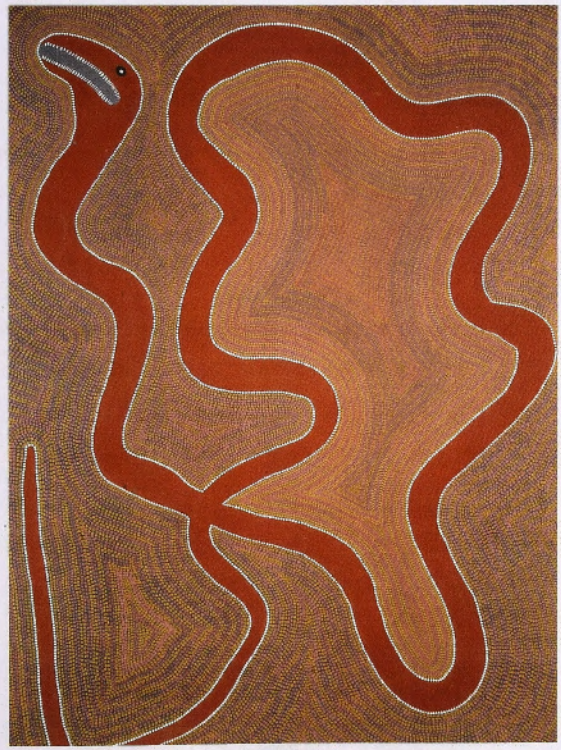
Figure 17 Nyunmanu outstation buildings



[694] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.
[695] On my field trip to Kintore in mid 2011 Hilary Tjapaltjarri reminded me each time I saw him that he needed firewood. It wasn't a casual observation, for he had helped me before by providing information in an interview in Alice Springs in May 2010.
[696] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

Figure 18 A covered space at Nyunmanu outstation

Figure 19 (MN8605114) See Painting story #10



This brief painting story [PS#10] points to the earliest PTA record confirming Namarari's presence at his outstation. The water snake (*wanampi*) story (MN8605114, see Fig. 19) was painted at his outstation in May 1986.[697] This large canvas suggests that the outstation had at least a basic shelter offering a rudimentary studio that afforded Namarari some protection from the elements. The painting's story concerns a snake and *kadaitcha* men (feared stealthy killers) at the site Piltarti, and features a graphic red snake bordered in white dots, with an oversized open grey mouth lined with white teeth. The sinuous snake encircles an area of dotted infill bands representing water and a similar design outside that area representing sandhills.[698] Coincidentally, the first painting by Namarari's wife Elizabeth located in PTA's records was also from 1986 (EM860266).

Namarari's widow Elizabeth and their daughter Angelina Nungurrayi recalled some experiences at the family's outstation, most likely from the late 1980s or early 1990s, after its construction was complete. The outstation dwellings afforded more comfort and utility than the shelters at Browns Bore.

Interview extract 2a

Extract from author's interview with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra:[699]

Alec

So at that outstation when you were living there, there's tjilpi, there's you, and Angelina.

Elizabeth

All the other young fellas, Peter, Farren, and all the other young fellas they were only boys and I looked after them there.

Alec

Oh you were looking after them? So you were looking after a lot of kids at that outstation?

Elizabeth

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[697] 'Water Serpent Dreaming at the salt lake site of Piltartinya', PTA certificate supplied by Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Melbourne, April 2011; signed by Daphne Williams, dated '10-7-86' (July 10, 1986). Illustrated in 'Mythology and Reality', 2004, p. 55.
[698] PTA field note for MN8605114, catalogue raisonne research.
[699] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.

My two sisters' kids, other sister, other sister and a brother. Father finished, mother still there drinking and me.

Alec

Oh ok that's a big family. And when you're living at the outstation because that's a long way from Kintore do the kids go to school or do they stay at the outstation?

Elizabeth

Stay at the outstation, no car to go there, come back too far to go there.

Alec

It's a long way.

Elizabeth

And when I was there I got sick and that's why I moved back to Kintore.

Alec

Did you have to go to hospital?

Elizabeth

Hospital yeah I started getting that sugar diabetes yeah.

Alec

Oh that's bad. So after living at the outstation you came back here to Kintore to another house?

Elizabeth

Here, I'm here now.

Alec

Yep here for a long time.

Elizabeth

A long time.

Alec

And then, so your family is living here now in Kintore, come back to Kintore from the outstation, and did tjilpi like that outstation, did he like living there?

Elizabeth

Yeah he liked it and sometimes he told me to go and get the kids here to school, and he was there by himself.

Alec

Yeah, who's cooking for him and

Elizabeth

He can cook.

Alec

Oh really, so he's just by himself there, maybe it's quiet.

Elizabeth

Quiet yeah.

Alec

Did he go hunting there?

Elizabeth

Oh hunting, get all the goannas, kangaroos.

(End of extract)

The number of adults and children Elizabeth alludes to makes its difficult to imagine how they fitted into the limited living space.[700] Elizabeth makes the point that she was 'looking after all the kids' and relocated into Kintore because of ill health. Namarari also requested that she 'get the children to attend school'[701] whilst he remained at the outstation, hunting and cooking for himself. His outstation dwelling was within a short walk of the Dingo Dreaming site of Nyunmanu and a one to two-hour walk to his birthplace, Marnpi. The ranges at Kintore and the vast open plain to the north were visible from the rocky range behind the outstation.

Namarari's daughter Angelina recalls hunting for goannas with her father and when asked if he preferred living in Kintore or at Nyunman, she replied, 'Nyunman, Nyunman, yeah'. She sometimes lived at Turkey Tolson's outstation before moving into Kintore to attend school.

Interview extract 2b

When Angelina (b1981) was 'seven or eight' suggests the time here is the late 1980s:[702]

When I was a little girl I was at the outstation Nyunman and my mother and father might go hunting, for goanna. There was lots of camels, everywhere. I was there, Peter, Nellie's son, mother and father. Maybe I was seven or eight. After Nyunman I lived at my grandmother's place, Yuwalki. Lived with Turkey, he's my grandfather. Turkey and Mary and lots of grandchildren, too many. And my grandfather said 'I should take these kids to Kintore, for school'. Sometimes we went into Kintore on a camel. If Toyota's broken down we always use camel. But no one there no more. My grandfather passed away, my grandmother passed away. Then I'm living in Kintore, going to school, my mother had a house there.

(End of extract)

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[700] I visited the outstation for the first time, with Elizabeth and relatives, on my field trip to Kintore in July-August 2011. It was empty and still.

[701] This has echoes of him telling his adopted son Keith Butler that he should attend school, in Papunya.

[702] Angelina Nungurrayi, interview with author, November 22, 2010, Alice Springs. Peter is her brother.

Aside from the outstation's problems already stated here, there was little likelihood that a sustainable outstation-based economy could develop, although Tolson and Namarari attempted to establish a camel-based business.[703] The lack of permanent paid work for adult residents was unresolved, creating another site for dependency (for example, through welfare payments) when the self-determination policy was intended to promote autonomy. The only export commodity was art, supported by PTA. In her study of the outstation movement at Hermannsburg, Austin-Broos (2009, p. 182) found that the 'unreasonable burden of expectation' upon outstations was problematic for policy makers and the Arrernte people.

Fred Myers returned to Australia in 1988 and visited Kintore where he met Namarari in the Council office. Namarari told him that his outstation was at 'Nyunmanu, with two houses and only 3 people living there' and Namarari said he would 'go back there after the Yuendumu Sports weekend.[704] In the 1990s Namarari was based at Kintore and moved between the settlement, outstations at Nyunmanu and Ngutjul (see below), and visiting relatives at Mt Liebig and Papunya.[705] Kintore's outstations were not the panacea for the Pintupi, yet they were another one of many efforts by policy makers and Aboriginal people alike to find an acceptable answer to the question: where, and how, will these Pintupi people live? The problems at Nyunman were resolved not so much by fixing them but by leaving them behind.

Namarari had strong family links at Mt Liebig and frequently travelled back and forth with Elizabeth to maintain contact with relatives and his 'old mates'. In the early 1990s on one such trip to Mt Liebig the family was stranded by car engine failure. Namarari's solution relied on his friend Glenis Wilkins[706] (and her husband Tim, the store manager), accepting his 'offer' to exchange paintings in lieu of cash for the repair costs. Wilkins' story highlights Namarari's expectation that he will receive the help he needs whilst reciprocating in kind – doing paintings with canvases and paints provided by Wilkins. Namarari told Wilkins that her husband Tim has 'got to buy me a motor' and 'I'll paint you a canvas'.[707] The Wilkins lived in the outstation house and Namarari painted on their verandah, where she provided him with occasional cups of tea.[708] Namarari would paint for 'a

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[703] Bartlett also reported that Tolson and Namarari attempted to get a camel farm business going at Yuwalki. (Peter Bartlett, interview with author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.) The camel yard enclosure is still visible. (I visited the outstation with Elizabeth and relatives, on my field trip to Kintore in July-August 2011. It was empty and overgrown with weeds and shrubs.)

[704] Recorded by Myers in his notes, June 26, 1988, email to author, June 2011.

[705] Occasional paintings produced in Papunya for the local Warumpi Art Centre attest to his presence. They were usually in the dotted Tjunginpa style (see Ch. 10).

[706] Glenis Wilkins first met Namarari at Mt Liebig in the 1980s and became very fond of him, 'getting to know him little by little'.

[707] Glenis Wilkins, interview with author, November 6, 2009, Mt Liebig.

[708] Glenis Wilkins showed me this dwelling on my field trip to Mt Liebig in November 2009.

couple of hours and then wander off to sit outside the old shop or just do what he wanted to do'.[709]

Wilkins recalls Namarari using his spare time at Mt Liebig[710] to catch up with old mates such as Billy Stockman (who lived in a 'little old tin shed'), Benny Penabuka and Charlie Marshall, 'obviously they knew each other quite well'. Numerous anecdotes collected for this project attest to Namarari's preference for sitting and chatting privately with male friends of his generation. Wilkins was fond of Namarari:[711]

> Mick was very quiet, he had a funny little cheeky sense of humour. But he was also very serious, you know. He got to know you and then he'd say little slight remarks about different things. A bit of a dry sense of humour. And Mick would sit with [his old mates] they'd sit down, all the old men, they'd all sit there and chat about whatever. But he was quite quiet, but he also had that little cheeky thing about him. He was a good old man.

A distinct benefit of the outstations movement was that it positioned Namarari on his traditional country. This proximity enabled Namarari to participate in more site visits, examples of which were gathered from mostly non-Aboriginal individuals who assisted Namarari on some occasions. Those visits occurred from the early 1980s to the mid 1990s. On one occasion (August 14, 1993) David Nash and Jeremy Long travelled to the southwest of Kintore with Namarari and Nolan Tjapangati.[712] The group visited a series of soakages including Tjunariti,[713] which only Nolan had been to previously.[714] Namarari did not report visiting his country between the 1940s and 1970s in his Kean and Batty interviews. However, an instance was found of Namarari returning during the 1950s, which is significant even though it is only one known example.[715] It confirms that Namarari's physical contact with his *ngurra* was not severed by his departure in the 1930s. Hilary Tjapaltjarri described his travels with his 'two big brothers, Mick Namarari and Benny Tjapaltjarri' when living at Haasts Bluff in the 1950s.[716] Hilary was a 'big boy' when taken by the men (Namarari and Benny were classificatory brothers) to walk from Haasts Bluff through eastern Pintupi country. Hilary confirmed travelling to Namarari's country and specified two sites.

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[709] Glenis Wilkins, interview with author, November 6, 2009, Mt Liebig.
[710] It took nearly two months to get the car engine replacement (from Alice Springs) and repair work completed: 'Tim put the motor in, got it all going for him and then they went off' according to Wilkins.
[711] Glenis Wilkins, interview with author, November 6, 2009, Mt Liebig.
[712] The men were assisting Nash with research into the Walker Brothers expedition in 1913, which traversed Pintupi country.
[713] Neither Tjunariti nor the other soakages visited are listed as sites in Namarari's paintings.
[714] David Nash, discussion with author August 4, 2012 and corres. to author, August 9, 2012.
[715] I estimate the 1950s based on the interview with Hilary Tjapaltjarri.
[716] Hilary Tjapaltjarri, interview with author, assisted by Katie Allen, May 5, 2010, Alice Springs, translation by Ken Hansen.

Interview extract 3a

Extract of author's interview with Hilary Tjapaltjarri:[717]

Ok then I was able to walk around on my own, and my two brothers would take me around with them. I was a bit bigger then, about this high (demonstrates with outstretched hand – over one metre). *Then I went to Mick Namarari country, it was a rockhole named Marnpi. Another place near there is Watukarri, Mick Namarari's country. I was an older boy and those other two were men Benny Tjapaltjarri and Mick Namarari.*

(End of extract)

Hilary specified that his country included his 'borning place', Mintjilpirri. It is another site for the *Malu Kutjarra* (Two Kangaroo) *tjukurrpa,* linked to Namarari's country at Marnpi and Watukarri. Namarari, as the eldest of the three, may have been educating them about his *ngurra,* though other senior men may also have been present. Hilary's account necessarily infers that they visited other places *en route* (Putarti, Kungkayunti and Muruntji are possible entry points into the region Hilary refers to if walking from Haasts Bluff). Hilary's story again underscores Myers' claim that young men had a passion for travel, to see their country and to be on the move. It also confirms the relationship between Namarari and Benny in the 1950s.

The first contemporary example involving Namarari returning to Marnpi was an early 1980s trip with PTA staff member Andrew Crocker. Namarari described a visit to Marnpi in the Kean interview, where Kean identified the whitefella in the story as Andrew Crocker,[718] though Namarari refers to him as a 'schoolteacher'. Namarari's anecdote is pertinent here because 1981 may have been his first visit to Marnpi in years, if not decades. He talks more about the sandhills and the kangaroo meal than about the site or its meaning, which is consistent with other anecdotes of site visits with Namarari told by non-Aboriginal friends.

Interview extract 3b

Extract from Kean's interview with Namarari, concerning the visit to Marnpi in 1981, possibly from Papunya or Mt Liebig:[719]

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[717] Hilary Tjapaltjarri, interview with author, assisted by Katie Allen, May 5, 2010, Alice Springs, translation from Pintupi by Ken Hansen.
[718] Notes to author on the interview transcription, 2004.
[719] Williams also recalled that Crocker took Namarari out to Marnpi about this time. Daphne Williams, telephone conversation with author, July 23, 2011.

Namarari

It is only now that I have seen it, as an old man. I am seeing it as an old man. Another whitefella brought me out, and I went go two days.

Kean

Did someone show you the track?

Namarari

No that's OK the track is here. But I can't go little car so go this one.

Kean

Four wheel drive.[720]

Namarari

Ok then in this we could go straight there over the sand hills. It was an oil road that they graded.[721]

Kean

Seismic work. Were you happy about Marnpi?

Namarari

Yes I was happy. This country of mine has a lot of sand hills. Sandhills can't go little car. No. There are too many sand hills. There is a sand hill, then another, then another then another.

Some of the sand hills are big and others are small. They are too boggy. Little bit boggy there in the sand hills. The whitefella dug and dug and tried to get out the bog in vain. I thought about it and said that he should put some branches down on the track. The whitefella he just kept digging the sand. He don't know

[720] Kean advised that he was driving a 4 WD Mitsubishi Patrol.
[721] Kean notes that 'there was an oil company doing prospecting along a seismic line in the early 1980s west of Papunya'.

what to do. I put the branches down under the wheels, and then another one drove. Who was it? It was Tjapangati Nolan.[722]

My grandson was there he is a half-caste,[723] *Someone's xxx son. She the mother is a Napurrula. He is living on the river side in Alice Springs, in one of those houses. There were three of us that went together. We pushed and pushed. We saw it from here, it was a kangaroo which was moving around. Someone said, "There is a kangaroo crouching over there." It was a kangaroo in the shade. Well we went in the car and we shot it. It was a school teacher who took us on that trip, in a Toyota. Ok then after that we were cooking it. The whitefella did not eat any of that meat. Maybe he had not tasted it before.*

Kean

He only had a tin to eat.

Namarari

Yes, only a tin. In vain I tried to give him some. "Here some meat." Nothing.

Kean

Maybe he was a bit stupid.

Namarari

Yes he didn't have any meat. Alright?
(End of extract)

Namarari confirmed he saw Marnpi again as an old man and was happy. The teacher[724] who provided transport (at Namarari's behest?) was lightly chided by Namarari, as he did not know how to get the bogged vehicle out of the sand and was unwilling later to eat some cooked kangaroo. In listening to the recording I suspect Namarari was a little annoyed by those incidents.

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[722] Nolan Tjapangati was another PTA artist.
[723] This man is not named, though it confirms that Namarari had family members living in Alice Springs around 1981.
[724] Crocker was not a teacher so Namarari may have mis-identified him.

Another site visit anecdote from the late 1980s suggests that Namarari's motivation was to show young men his site. Doug Marmion lived at Kintore during 1988-90 and knew Namarari as 'a quiet, gentle, but very strong old man' who had 'a great sense of quiet confidence' that Marmion 'always found impressive'.[725] Marmion recalled an instance when Namarari gently prevailed upon him to visit a site. For Marmion 'it is a strong memory, especially imperturbable Mick' who expressed 'happiness at seeing the site'. Marmion's description of the directions taken from Kintore approximate with the location of Marnpi:[726]

> Eventually we came to a particular sandhill and Mick indicated that we were close. Just over the next sandhill he told me to stop, then he got out and went down to the swale where there was a flat rocky area. In the middle was a hole, probably 1.5m in diameter. Mick went over to the hole and climbed down into it, disappearing completely for a few minutes. Then some of Mick's younger relatives, they were all male, were called over and looked around, although I couldn't really tell what was happening. Then they returned to the car, after perhaps 30 minutes at the site, and said it was time to go. Mick seemed happy with the trip and seemed to enjoy it all, including the slow return journey.

Namarari also visited various sites with his contemporaries. Peter Hay did occasional work at Kintore from 1987-1991, visiting two to four times a year and fondly remembers his 'holiday' with Namarari.[727] Hay first met Namarari at Kintore's Store around 1988 and said 'hullo'. Namarari must have noticed the work Hay was doing with the local young men and said something like, 'good work with the young fellas.' The two men 'saw each other regularly around the place' and one day Namarari said 'come over here', inviting Hay to his house. They had some tea and chatted. Namarari had a fire going as he worked on a painting. Namarari initiated the next step and Hay understood his request:[728]

> Then later, probably on my next trip to Kintore he said something like, 'You come here, we make holiday'. He distinctly used the word 'holiday', come out for 'a holiday'. What he meant was and what he described was to go out overnight down to Nyunman and do some travelling and go to some rockholes. That was an invitation to go out to his country. So we went on a trip using my own Toyota four-wheel drive.

Namarari invited his friends Barney Campbell Tjakamarra, Benny Tjapaltjarri and Hilary Tjapaltjarri and on the appointed day the men set off to the southeast with Hay as 'the tour operator' and Namarari as 'the tour guide, in charge'. On the first night the group camped at Namarari's outstation - there was no one living there at the time. It comprised 'two small sheds and a handpump and a tank. The shed was bare inside, that was the house where you lived. Single rooms

[725] Doug Marmion, personal correspondence to author, September 7, 2004.
[726] Doug Marmion, personal correspondence to author, September 7, 2004.
[727] Peter Hay, final compilation of interviews with author, October 2009, Sydney.
[728] Peter Hay, final compilation of interviews with author, October 2009, Sydney.

on a concrete floor with a door and window'.[729] On the second night they camped in the open and visited Marnpi, Namarari's primary destination on the holiday:[730]

> And we went to Marnpi Rockhole. We drove along a track to get there. We drove on to Marnpi, following a track. Marnpi is a small hill, like a little knoll, in sandhill country. There's a deep rockhole in that small hill. It's hard to remember but it struck me as a place that had been visited for thousands of years. It was only about that [30-40cm] wide, the mouth of the rockhole, it wasn't that big. At Marnpi we all got out. Namarari said something like: 'This is a really important place, from the olden days, it's good country, it's a good place'. I got a photo of Mick standing there. We weren't there that long, we didn't sit around and chat, they said 'we can go now'.

Hay saw the experience of travelling and staying out two nights as a positive adventure: 'Mick said his normal very little, he was just happy, being in the country, doing what he said he'd do, making a holiday', and the men had a good time as 'spirits were high'.[731] Hay drove the contented group back to Kintore with Namarari sitting in front. The men were talking among themselves in Pintupi and there was lots of laughter in the car and Namarari said later that he'd like to do it again one day 'but we never did'.[732]

3 Painting with ngurra nearby

During the 1980s Namarari's annual output fluctuated. It fell from twenty-five paintings in 1982 to nineteen in 1983, twelve in 1984 and just eleven in 1985. Namarari's family moved between Kintore and Mt Liebig and Williams (PTA) may have had difficulty reaching him regularly. Namarari's subsequent relative stability at Kintore and PTA's improved staffing helped lift his output in the latter half of the 1980s, from eighteen paintings in 1986 with another eighteen in 1987, to twenty-nine in 1988, just thirteen in 1989 and then a record (thus far) of thirty-one paintings in 1990. Meanwhile, Papunya Tula art was beginning to attract institutional recognition: 'Finally, in the early 1980s, a few imaginative curators did include some of the large, late 1970s canvases in displays of contemporary art and after a decade of neglect and dismissal Papunya Tula Artists began finally to establish a market for its sales' (Johnson, 2010, p. 134).

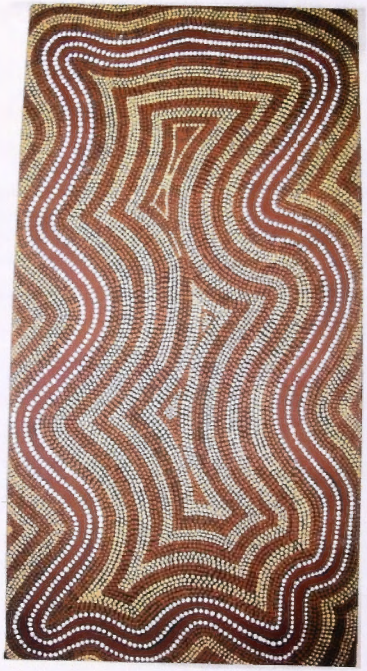
One outcome of the catalogue raisonne research was to identify individual paintings or a series of paintings for formal analysis (including those listed on p. viii). As the 1980s drew to a close Namarari produced major works on a large scale and experimented with his compositions. Such paintings illustrated his technical

[729] Peter Hay, final compilation of interviews with author, October 2009, Sydney.
[730] Peter Hay, final compilation of interviews with author, October 2009, Sydney.
[731] Peter Hay, final compilation of interviews with author, October 2009, Sydney.
[732] Peter Hay, final compilation of interviews with author, October 2009, Sydney.

skills, capacity for invention and connection to country. For example, Namarari's *Malu Kutjarra* (Two Kangaroo Dreaming) paintings, along with the associated sites (see App. 10b), were identified, revealing forty-three such works: the majority (thirty) in six years (February 1987 to December 1992) with only thirteen from 1971-86 and 1993-98 inclusive. The site names were discussed with Hilary Tjapaltjarri to confirm their presence along the *Malu Kutjarra* trail.[733] I contend elsewhere that Namarari's #19123A (PS#2, see Ch. 6) was a *malu* painting. It would be informative to have learned from the artist why there was a peak in *Malu Kutjarra* paintings between 1987 and 1992. This period corresponds to Namarari living at outstations (Nyunman and Ngutjul) nearby the numerous *Malu Kutjarra* sites in eastern Pintupi country, and such proximity may have prompted an increase in men's ceremonial activity. An increase in vehicle ownership (compared to the 1970s) may also have made access easier. It is notable that the *Malu Kutjarra tjukurrpa* is associated with initiation and is therefore an essential component of male ceremonial activity.

[733] Author's discussion with Hilary Tjapaltjarri, April 28, 2010, Alice Springs. Hilary also painted the Malu Kutjarra, for example, at Mintjilpirri (HT880161), whilst another countryman of Namarari, Eddie Etamintja, also painted the Two Kangaroo story at Marnpi (EE850801).

Figure 20 (MN871169) See Painting story #11



This painting story [PS#11] concerns a particular motif associated with the site Marnpi, which is a shallow bare depression between sandhills, with two rockholes close together near its centre and a small soakage to one side.[734] The motif's specific shape distinguishes it from other representations of rockholes by Namarari and I therefore label it the 'Marnpi motif'. It may comprise dotting (see Fig. 20) or stripes (see Fig. 21), or a combination. It is consistently shown as a relatively long, narrow shape with a constriction part way along, suggesting that the painted representation may approximate the natural form. The motif appears in works completed by Namarari after the mid 1980s, which is *after* he relocated to his Nyunmanu outstation.[735] It appears in the centre of several paintings.[736]

[734] Based on photographs supplied by and discussion with Tommy Conway Tjapangati (Namarari's grandson), June 5, 2013, Kintore.

[735] Definitive claims about the first appearance of the Marnpi motif will be secure once images are located of all of Namarari's paintings.

[736] Examples, with extracts from PTA field notes in brackets (with original grammar): MN871169 (Marnpi rockhole SE of Kintore in the middle of sandhills centre is a lake), MN880919 (The red centre of the concentric rectangles indicates the waterhole at Marnpi), MN891111 (In the middle of the painting the small brown area represent a rock hole), MN891201 (Manpinya – south-east of Kintore This is sandhill country where a long flat rock hole is found. See story 891111), MN940680 (Central feature a ref to the xxx rockhole at the site) and MN950367 (Centre is water hole lake all around is the lines).

Figure 21 (MN940680) See Painting story #11

Marnpi is an important site for many Dreamings, notably the Kangaroo *tjukurrpa*. The paintings selected here are illustrative of Namarari's compositions wherein he displayed the barest reference to *tjukurrpa* origins and instead maximised the aesthetic impact of repetition. This painting story [PS#12] concerns the *Malu tjukurrpa* at the site Marnpi from the late 1980s, as depicted in paintings MN880919 and MN891111 (see Figs. 22 and 23). In Namarari's 1989 interview with Kean he refers specifically to Marnpi's *tjukurrpa* affiliation.

Namarari described Marnpi this way:[737]

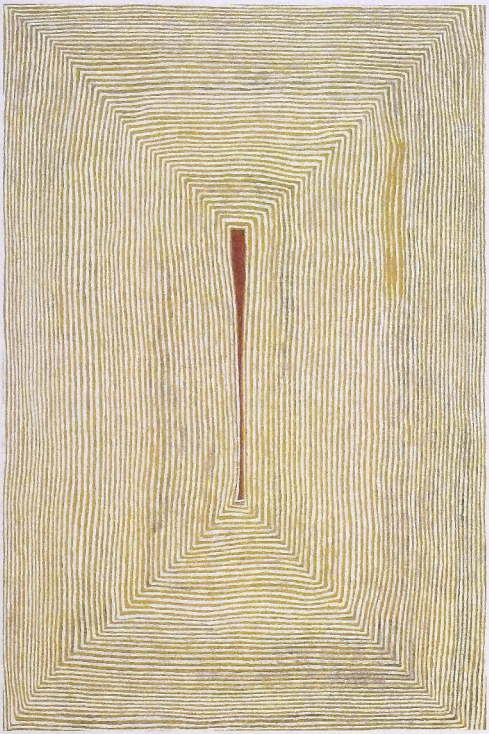
> This is the kangaroo dreaming place. This is the hills kangaroo place. This is tjuurrpa bird... Yes, a bird.[738] It sits at its hollow tree... It's got big eyes... It is only small. Now it chased that one around the place... These two. This one went underground... The kangaroo was lying there. This one is the hills kangaroo... These two after lying there then went off from here to Ngatuti.[739] Those after lying went to where? To Lingakurra. That is west of Marnpi.

Elsewhere in the interview Namarari states in reference to a 1971 painting (Kean was showing him an image), 'This is Manpinya. There are no footprints here, only water, which is my dreaming place'. Namarari's statement enables me to confirm that the hitherto unnamed 'large waterhole' in that 1971 painting is Marnpi.[740] The painting includes a large waterhole, kangaroos, seated men, waterholes and sandhills. Eighteen years later the artist omitted the symbols for men and kangaroos, as the following two works illustrate.

Figure 22 (MN891111) See painting story #12

[737] Mick Namarari, interview with John Kean, November 1989, Mt Liebig.
[738] Kean believes it is the 'tjulpu, an owlet nightjar', written comment on original interview transcription.
[739] Hansen initially translated this place as Matupi. Upon listening to the interview tape I changed it. Ngatuti is a Two Kangaroo Dreaming site nearby Marnpi in that region; Matupi is unknown.
[740] In Dot and Cirle (1985, p. 59) Namarari's painting is titled 'Kangaroo Dreaming (1971)'. He confirms it as his site Marnpi to Kean.

Figure 23 (MN880919) See painting story #12



'Kangaroo Dreaming at Marnpi' (MN880919, Fig. 23) comprises serial rectangles alternating in yellow and white, cascading into a narrow red oblong strip representing the rockhole Marnpi. The surrounding yellow lines are sandhills.[741] A year later Namarari painted a related story at Marnpi, 'Kangaroo, Wallaby and Bird Dreaming at Manpinya' (MN891111, Fig. 22). This composition comprises alternating yellow and brown dotted bands with two obvious variations to the pattern. The first variation is a smooth, red-brown stripe, thicker at one end, across the canvas. It signifies the animal's presence, for it is 'the tail mark of the kangaroo as he dragged over the country'.[742] The second variation is an elongated narrow shape squeezed between the dotted bands – the Marnpi motif. It represents a rock hole where the animals drank (viz. it sustains life).[743] The yellow dotted bands represent 'many sand dunes' and the brown bands represent the 'vegetation between them'.[744] The dotted bands, like the sandhills they represent, stretch to the

[741] PTA field notes, MN880919.
[742] PTA field notes, MN891111.
[743] PTA field notes, MN891111.
[744] PTA field notes, MN891111.

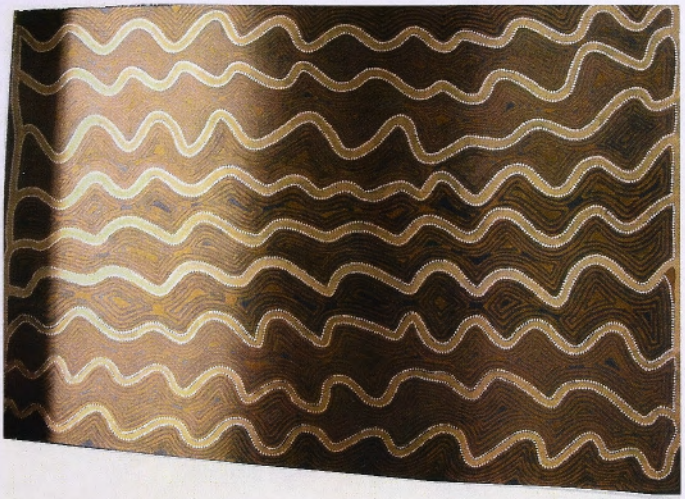
edge of the canvas and by inference, continue into the distance. This design is similar to, and may be a precursor of Turkey Tolson's 'Spear straightening' style works, for Namarari has filed the canvas with repetitive dotted bands.

The dotted bands pattern depicts an expansive topographical space. That country was familiar to Namarari, for he said to Kean (interview extract 3b, above): 'This country of mine has a lot of sand hills. […] There is a sand hill, then another, then another then another.' The painting represents that local landscape and it contained signifiers of the *tjukurrpa* narrative for the Marnpi site, with each element being ascribed a meaning by the artist (the tail mark and the rockhole). Finally, the PTA field note for the painting records Namarari as saying, 'one kangaroo, wallaby and a bird called tjurrhi, a night bird with large eyes that lives in hollow logs. The bird was uncle to the other two'.[745] Thus, even though the animal ancestors are not explicitly shown, they are referenced by the artist in his explanatory narrative, as is the kinship or relatedness of the animal ancestors. That explanation might also link Namarari into ceremonial activity at the site since Tjapaltjarri men may be that uncle or the nephew (Tjapaltjarri-Tjupurrula subsections are in an uncle-nephew relationship, using English terms). Such paintings therefore link the artist to his site, its tjukurrpa, the animal ancestors and their presence as creators of place and as actors in an ongoing cultural narrative.

A related painting story [PS#13] concerns Namarari's 'Two Kuningka Dreaming' from 1989 (MN890643, see Fig. 24) and his 'Kangaroo Dreaming at Mintjilpirri' from 1990 (MN900742, see Fig. 25). They were painted within a year of each other and in the same period as the two foregoing striped and dotted linear works. In contrast to those 'all-over dotting' and 'all-over stripes' compositions, these two paintings feature repeating shapes framed within a grid. In these two paintings the grid comprises yellow wavy lines coincidentally nine (lengthways) in each painting, creating eight elongated internal spaces that Namarari partitions into segments. The two paintings have the same basic structure with different techniques for the infill.

[745] PTA field note, MN891111.

Figure 24 (MN890643) See Painting story #13



Firstly, to the origin of the Two Kuningka painting (MN890643, Fig. 24), using information provided by Judith Ryan.[746] Ryan was the curator of the National Gallery of Victoria's 'Mythscapes' exhibition in 1989, for which she requested two special commissions (from Daphne Williams at PTA) and chose Mick Namarari and Dinny Campbell as the artists whose work appealed to her. Namarari's work had already been displayed at Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi (in Melbourne), and the NGV had acquired Papunya Tula art. When Ryan spoke with Namarari in 1989 about the work she had commissioned after its unveiling in Melbourne, he told her the following:[747] he chose to paint it specifically in response to the commission request (conveyed by Williams), it took him four to five weeks to complete, he had to think about it a lot in his mind, he wanted to do something special, he did the colours and the mixing, and he wanted to be happy with it. Ryan herself felt that the painting had a 'gentle, assured touch' and her experience over time with Namarari's work prompted thoughts of mounting a solo exhibition (which didn't eventuate).[748]

The subject matter of the painting is 'Two Kuningka Dreaming at Pintjirralnga, a white hill east of Nyunman'.[749] I identified six Kuningka Dreaming works in the 1980s-90s.[750] Myers (1991, pp. 61-64) describes 'The Native Cat

[746] Judith Ryan, interview with the author, Melbourne March, 2010.
[747] Judith Ryan, interview with the author, Melbourne March, 2010.
[748] Judith Ryan, interview with the author, Melbourne March, 2010.
[749] PTA field note, MN890643.
[750] This is a low number compared to other subjects. 'Kuningka' is listed as the 'native cat' on two of the certificates and as a 'small marsupial' on a third, whilst a fourth refers to the 'Kuningka Men'; the

Story' in relation to the Tingarri Cycle of the Pintupi, referring to the animal as the *kuninka*, or marsupial cat (1991, p. 62). My reading of that story does not shed light immediately on the interpretation of Namarari's NGV painting. His composition is tightly structured, with nine wavy yellow lines (lengthways), joined at their extremities by similar lines along the sides altogether forming the grid. Intricately striped contorted-oblong shapes form neighbouring segments between the long wavy lines. Light and dark grey lines alternating with yellow form those contorted shapes, while the yellow wavy lines are bordered with white dots throughout. There is one obvious variation – a small dark yellow patch on one side. Slight variations such as this can often be seen in Namarari's paintings, as though (speculatively) the pattern requires (in Namarari's mind) an interruption.

Figure 25 (MN900742) See painting story #13

The second painting (MN900742, Fig. 25) employs a similar template to the Two Kuningka painting. Namarari again uses long wavy yellow lines, joined along their ends, to form a self-contained grid. Beyond the outer perimeter yellow amorphous dotting signifies spinifex. On this occasion the segmented contorted shapes dominate: they comprise dotted bands in contrasting dark grey and yellow. Short white dotted lines separate the neighbouring segments (without explanation in PTA's field note). Again there is one obvious variation: in one instance two neighbouring segments are joined at a corner to form a combined shape, begging the question: is that Namarari's reference to the *two* kangaroos associated with the

remaining two certificates add nothing. The sites for the Kuningka story are given variously as: 'Pinkalnga', 'past Kintore', 'Marnpe', 'west of Marnpi', 'Matingka', and finally, 'east past Kintore to the west'. It is not unusual for a Dreaming story to be associated with a number of sites.

site? The only clue is that 'the kangaroo ancestor lies sleeping beside a large water hole which is surrounded by claypans and spinifex', with the segments representing the claypans.[751] Once again Namarari has taken one topographical feature, claypans (which incidentally may show a pattern of ring-marks in the drying mud as the water recedes) and reproduced that motif across the canvas. A single motif on a small canvas could essentially provide the same information, thus Namarari was demonstrating his capacity to upscale through repetition to create an aesthetically pleasing composition executed with his usual precision. Note also that the 'Marnpi motif' element does not appear in the painting for the site Mintjilpirri.

4 Painting relationships and distant travel

Daphne Williams worked for PTA from 1981 to 1993, joining around the time the Pintupi majority returned to the west.[752] PTA added its own facility for storage of materials and staff use at Kintore in 1987 ('the painting shed'), reducing the need to transport supplies back and forth from Papunya. Sometime later Williams got 'a little flat at Kintore to stay in, about 1988, but was still travelling back and forth to Alice Springs and Papunya and points along the way to look after the artists'.[753] Williams apparently did not travel to sites with the men in the manner of Kimber or Kean and did not have a similar facility with the Pintupi language. She was PTA's sole employee in the early 1980s but by the mid 1980s had new assistants to share the workload and extensive travelling. In August 1984 Jeff Hulcombe started, mostly working 'at the Papunya end' whilst Williams 'worked at the Kintore, Kiwirrkura end'.[754] She had limited contact with Namarari due to her office and fieldwork schedule through the 1980s, travelling from Alice Springs to Papunya, Mt Liebig, Kintore and Kiwirrkura (from 1984).[755]

Williams recalls that Namarari appreciated her visits to his outstation and would occasionally join her on the return trip into Kintore, indicative of his dependence on others for transport. Williams loaded up her Hilux in readiness to visit the artists at their outstations:[756]

> In a day I could go east and get from Kintore to Ualki and Nyunman and Ngutjul and back before dark. Mick lived at Nyunman outstation, about an hour's drive east of Kintore. He always liked to see you and we'd have a cuppa and a chat, and sit together for a bit before I headed off. I would collect the paintings that were finished and load them into the back of the

[751] PTA field note, MN900742.
[752] Williams later 'came out of retirement' in the mid 1990s and rejoined the company.
[753] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.
[754] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.
[755] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.
[756] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.

Hilux. On the odd occasion I took Mick back with me into Kintore, perhaps for supplies.

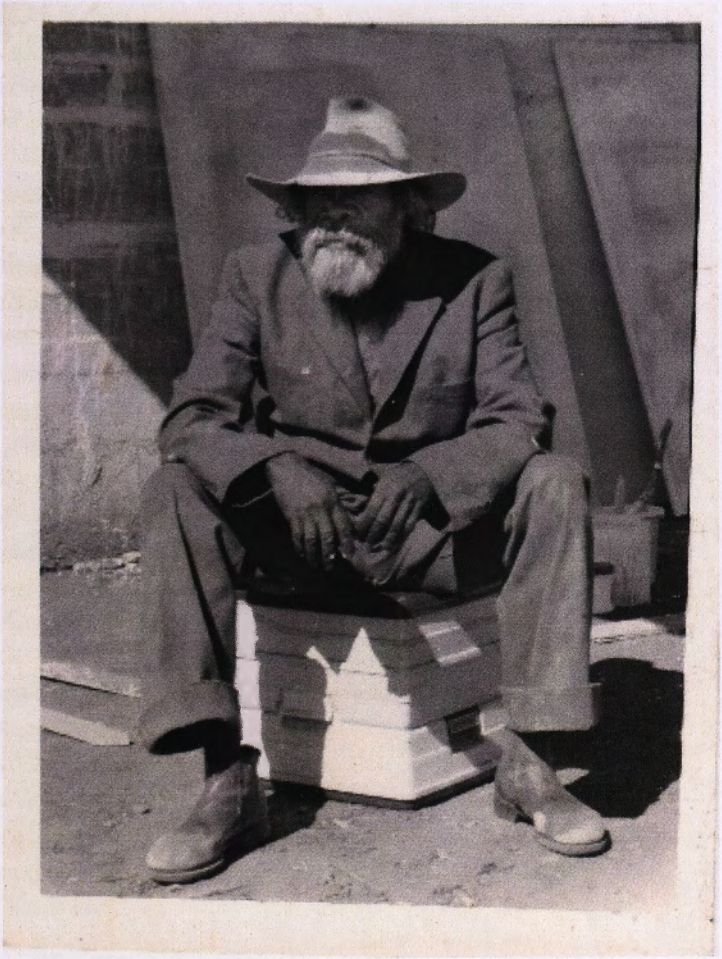
Williams was selective regarding which artists she would provide with large canvases, due to the material expense and the artist's capacity to work on such a scale. She had confidence in Namarari's ability to produce high quality work, and 'left him with a range of canvases, he was capable of handling big canvases. In the 1980s he did many big works, such as the Tingari style paintings'.[757] Williams had as much interest in the artist's families as she did in their paintings, and remembers Namarari as a caring parent: 'He was very proud of his kids, he loved the kids'.[758]

John Corker, a lawyer and photographer working in CA, accompanied Daphne Williams on one of her trips out west in the late 1980s. He preferred to talk to people before taking their photograph as 'a photo is about a relationship between two people'.[759] Corker first saw Namarari near Kintore's painting shed, away from the others, sitting in silence. It took a photographer's eye to notice, 'Mick was sitting there, quietly, just waiting' and Corker thought, 'that's an interesting shot', so he waited before approaching Namarari ('a fairly quiet bloke') to talk about taking his photograph.[760] After a while he thought Namarari was 'comfortable' so Corker took the photograph.

It shows Namarari sitting on a box, looking to his right and into the distance, seemingly preoccupied with his own thoughts. Corker's patience and inquisitive eye may have captured a moment - to draw on Kean's description - of Namarari, 'waiting'.[761] This photographic portrait offers a powerful counterpoint to one of Namarari's early paintings of a mature man (see thesis Conclusion).

[757] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.
[758] Daphne Williams, final compilation of interviews with author, July 2011.
[759] John Corker, interview with author, May 18, 2011, Sydney.
[760] John Corker, interview with author, May 18, 2011, Sydney.
[761] The first time I saw Corker's photograph I thought 'that belongs on the cover of Namarari's biography'. It held a quality not seen in most contrived portrait shots where Namarari stares directly at the camera, which does not seem to be his natural position. Tim Klingender alerted me to Corker's photograph in April 2011.

Figure 26 Portrait of Namarari at Kintore



In the late 1980s Namarari continued an activity he enjoyed at Papunya in the 1970s - storytelling with the school children. Peter Thorley met Namarari and his family at Kintore whilst teaching at the school and shared the following recollections.[762] A number of the senior men of the community including Namarari, Benny Tjapaltjarri and Uta Uta Tjangala, contributed to one of the school's cultural and language programs. Thorley believed that it was important for the children to hear stories from the old men and women at the school. Namarari shared numerous stories, in Pintupi, with the children sitting at his feet. He clearly

[762] Peter Thorley, discussion with the author, October 5 2007 and email summary, January 18, 2008.

enjoyed doing this and came to the school on many occasions. The stories were mostly concerned with subjects such as hunting animals and gathering bush tucker.[763] Some of Namarari's stories were reproduced for classroom use. On those school visits Namarari could combine two of his joys: being with children and telling stories about the 'old ways', which perhaps reminded him of his own childhood and travelling.

Around that time Namarari also departed Kintore to attend exhibitions of Papunya Tula art in Melbourne (1989) and Adelaide (1990), his first trips to capital cities since the 1981 exhibition in Sydney. Judith Ryan was the curator of the NGV's 'Mythscapes' exhibition in 1989.[764] Williams and Namarari, accompanied by Paul Parker, attended the opening.[765] Ryan invited Namarari to 'check' everything that was going on display. He gave his 'ok', including to early Papunya boards and a work by Uta Uta Tjangala that had an indication of a ritual object (a ceremonial hat). The checking process was to ensure nothing culturally inappropriate was publicly displayed. Ryan was confident in Namarari's seniority to make such judgements and said Namarari was 'happy' to see all the art included in the exhibition. Unsurprisingly, the reserved Namarari didn't do anything 'official' (such as public speaking) at the exhibition's launch. Geoff Bardon also attended the opening and when Namarari saw him again he was pleased and, Ryan observed, 'tears came to his eyes'.[766]

Ryan also took Namarari to the NGV's art storage facility (in Melbourne) to give him a tour through the storage and conservation areas. Namarari saw how paintings were looked after and kept when not on display and was interested and 'very impressed', according to Ryan. She recalls he had looked through the gallery itself and was particularly taken by the paintings of Paul Partos. Williams also recalled that trip to Melbourne with Namarari. Paul Parker (the Store Manager from Kintore and a Pintupi-speaker) was the third member of the travelling group, as a male companion for Namarari. At the gallery Bardon had 'many questions for Namarari about the early days' and Parker was able to 'help out'.[767] Parker's presence was not a causal choice, he was the husband of one of Benny Tjapaltjarri's sisters, and thus Namarari's brother-in-law.

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[763] The stories were tape-recorded. Fortunately, copies were made of the tapes and transcriptions and sent to AIATSIS (Canberra) for safekeeping, on the community's behalf. It was fortunate because the school later burned down and many records were destroyed.
[764] See Ryan, 1989. Two Namarari works are illustrated (pp. 17 & 41) but not the commissioned painting.
[765] The other artist was sick and did not travel to Melbourne.
[766] All of Ryan's comments here are from Judith Ryan, discussion with author, March 25, 2010, Melbourne.
[767] Daphne Williams, telephone conversation with author, June 22, 2012.

When the formalities were over the group went 'second-hand clothing shopping, and [Namarari] couldn't wait to get back home'.[768] Namarari thereby added another art and city adventure to his record, as a guest of honour. He saw the unveiling of one of his paintings at a significant exhibition launch, he perused some of the NGV's collection, and was introduced to aspects of the storage and conservation of artworks.

It was only another year before Namarari was combining art and travel again. John Kean was curator of the 'East to West Land in Papunya Tula painting' exhibition at the 'Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute' in Adelaide in 1990. Kean invited Namarari and Turkey Tolson to be 'a part of the opening' and they stayed in Kean's house for a week, a reflection of their friendship.[769] Kean had assured Williams (at PTA) that he 'would look after them well' and recalls Charlie Perkins coming around to his house 'because he was friends with both Mick and Turkey, to make sure that they were ok and make sure that we weren't drinking too much'.[770] Namarari and Tolson attended the exhibition as 'representatives' and 'didn't do any performing painting', though Tolson addressed the official opening.[771] Namarari was pretty quiet and 'would talk to people who approached him in his normal way' but would not 'go to a stranger'. Kean saw their attendance as 'a feather in their cap and a chance to travel, to make friends and build relationships' and as a 'happy extension of their public activities as artists'.[772] In a similar vein, Paul Walsh[773] later observed that Namarari appreciated the opportunity to visit cities because 'it increased his standing in Pintupi country' and 'he felt important to be feted'.[774]

Conclusion

Kintore fulfilled the promise of becoming the longed-for home in the west for the Pintupi people. Some, like Namarari, had first departed that region over four decades earlier. An obvious benefit to Namarari included the proximity of the main Kintore settlement to his outstation and *ngurra*, and most importantly his birthplace, Marnpi, though transport was an ongoing issue.

Namarari's life story in this chapter has been somewhat skeletal. Paintings are an important form of evidence along with oral history in helping to fill gaps and

[768] Daphne Williams, note to author, September 2011.

[769] Kean described Namarari as 'Turkey Tolson's principal mentor'. (Interview with author, Sept 14, 1999)
[770] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[771] At the time he was Chairman of PTA.
[772] John Kean, interview with author, March 25, 2009, Melbourne.
[773] A PTA Field officer in the early 1990s.
[774] Paul Walsh, interview with author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.

provide insights into his character. If other significant oral history accounts by Namarari's relatives and Pintupi contemporaries are one day translated and made available, more light may be shed on the latter parts of his life.[775] Namarari was often described as quiet or reserved by PTA staff, yet he had a well-honed *modus operandi* to engage with white people of his choosing. Anecdotes of local site visits portray him as a willing guide and pleasant travelling companion, and a gatekeeper vis a vis Marnpi. Whilst he introduced visitors to his *ngurra* he (apparently) said very little by way of explanation. His local mobility shows no signs of abating, and his painting work picked up pace as the decade closed. He and Elizabeth had three young children to care for in addition to the many members of his extended family. He continued to take opportunities to travel outside of CA, suggesting that his taste for adventure was undimmed by the passing of years. Namarari was by now an accomplished artist. By the close of the decade it seems that he had formed a view about PTA's pre-eminence, though he was prompted by Kean in their interview, 'But now the whitefellas think that Papunya Tula artists are number one'. Namarari replied at once, 'Yes we are'.

Namarari was approaching seventy years of age and his wispy beard had grey streaks. He was one of many 'grey beards' at Kintore, the *tjilpis,* those old men in fraying jackets carrying a world of memories beneath their dusty hats.

[775] Specifically, interviews by Kean and Batty interviews with other men at the time they interviewed Namarari.

Chapter 10
Tjilpi time, the 1990s

Kintore prospered and by the end of the 1980s 'had grown to become a settlement of some 450 Pintupi and 20-30 whitefellas, serviced by a community council, a store, women's centre, church, an NT government school and federally-funded health clinic' (Folds, 2001, p. 37). The Pintupi were by all accounts content: they had the benefits of essential services provided by the government, families had their own outstations, and many men were receiving a more regular income from painting. PTA's improved painting shed was again expanded in the mid 1990s to provide studio space for artists and basic accommodation for its field workers. The artists received extra support from the on-site staff.

Namarari's growing family placed increased demands on him as a provider. He lived more often than not in Kintore as Nyunman remained attractive to him, though less so to his family for much the same reason: its isolation. He was nearly seventy years old, a time when many men in Australian society had long retired from fulltime work. There seemed to be no prospect of 'downing his tools' just yet. His health slowly deteriorated, necessitating more trips into Alice Springs for treatment and ultimately hospitalisation. Namarari's long-held desire - to be on his own country – was fulfilled then ultimately denied.

This chapter continues the outstation narrative, particularly the difficulty caused by Nyunman's relative isolation. Namarari's reputation as an artist grew in the early 1990s as he won three awards and held four solo exhibitions through PTA. The catalogue raisonne research revealed a profusion of *Tjunginpa* paintings by him in the 1990s. They are an ideal series of works to address questions concerning Namarari's character and artistic practice, and are another demonstration of the value derived from combining different forms of evidence to focus on a biographical subject. The chapter - and Namarari's life story - closes with his final journey, which although unplanned, might have been expected.

1 An outstation to share

In the 1990s Namarari visited Alice Springs more often, sometimes travelling with the Tolson family and staying at one of Alice Springs' Town Camps.[776] Conveniently (for visiting relatives) Mt Liebig and Papunya were on the

[776] Comments to the author by PTA staff employed in the 1990s.

way. Three of the outstations on the eastern side of Kintore – Nyunman, Yuwalki and Ngutjul – were occupied by three close families: those of Namarari, Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula and George Maxwell Tjangala respectively. A problem for Namarari was his outstation's isolation, as it was the farthest from Kintore; Ngutjul was closest to Kintore and marginally closer to Alice Springs. Bartlett developed Ngutjul into a multi-purpose facility by adding separate dwellings,[777] aiming to utilise it as his 'service hub for the outstations' in preference to Kintore.[778] The Namarari, Tolson and Maxwell families had camped together previously and sometimes camped at Ngutjul.

The site Ngutjul,[779] just southeast of the outstation itself, is part of the continuum of water places associated with the Two Women Dreaming (*Kungka Kutjarra*) that travels locally between *Ngutjul* to *Putja* to *Muruntji* to *Kungkayunti*, adjacent to Browns Bore. Namarari and Turkey Tolson were affiliated with the Two Women Dreaming and George Tjangala was a 'boss' for Ngutjul. Living at Ngutjul solved or reduced problems such as the social isolation of Nyunman and its distance from Kintore's services. Namarari appreciated its benefits, which were closely tied to his family's needs and the one-countrymen were together, still.

Interview extract 1a

Extract from the unpublished section of original interviews for *Benny and the Dreamers*, where Namarari comments on living at Kintore at that time (viz. late 1992):[780]

Namarari

I live at Ngutjul and it's good. We go into Kintore to shop and return to the outstation. At night we sometimes go to Paul Parker's shop and buy some soft drinks. We get them and return home. We are living well around Kintore. We live there and think it is good. If we haven't got a car well Peter Bartlett runs us into the shop for tucker. On pension day he takes us to buy bread, tea, flour, jam and then we go back home.

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[777] I visited this deserted complex of buildings, still in reasonable repair, with Namarari's grandson Tommy Conway Tjapangati, on a field trip to Kintore, August 6, 2011, after visiting the deserted outstation at Nyunman.

[778] Peter Bartlett, interview with the author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

[779] I visited the Ngutjul water hole and nearby conglomeration of boulders with Namarari's grandson Tommy Conway Tjapangati, on a field trip to Kintore, August 6, 2011.

[780] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri, translations for the film Benny and the Dreamers, Supplement. Translation by John Heffernan. 1992. Property of Philip Batty, viewed in Melbourne, October 2011.

Hansen

So you're happy living back at home.

Namarari

Yes, at home.

Hansen

Are there a lot of people living at Kintore or on the outstations?

Namarari

There are a number of people living on the outstations and in at Kintore itself. In the evening we would go to sleep but my kids would cry for a soft drink. Because the kids are crying out for soft drink we would take them in for some soft drink.

(End of extract)

The mundane side of parenthood is apparent here. Namarari made two references to food for his family (rather than other events) and emphasised the value of having Bartlett nearby when the children wanted soft drinks. Perhaps Namarari carried a particular sensitivity to crying children because of his childhood experiences of loss: 'Through tantrums, children attempt to coerce others to satisfy them, to demonstrate their will. Such wilfulness seems intensified by parental loss' (Myers, 1991, p. 179). The store functions today as a social contact point for the community[781] and perhaps it served a similar function in the 1990s.

Bartlett's availability as a driver became a significant advantage – the value of a helpful whitefella with a reliable Toyota should not be underestimated. Individuals such as Bartlett were resource allies for men like Namarari, perhaps not essential but certainly making day-to-day life easier. Bartlett was one of many such non-Aboriginal individuals in Namarari's adult life: Bardon at Papunya, Toyne at Haasts Bluff, Marshall Stoneking and McMahon at Papunya, and the Wilkins at Mt Liebig. Each of PTA's art advisors is automatically on that list given their role, though those who were primarily based in Alice Springs had less regular contact with Namarari. However, irrespective of the movements of Namarari and his

[781] Author's observations at Kintore on field trips in 2007-2011.

family between Kintore, Ngutjul, Nyunman and Yuwalki, he specified the importance of Nyunman to him and his dependency on others for transport.[782]

Interview extract Ib

Extract from the unpublished section of original interviews for *Benny and the Dreamers* (continued):

Namarari

Well my true place is Nyunman. There is water there. That is my place, Nyunman. Camels and euros all come there to drink the water. And they eat the grass around there. Well I go there and stay for a while sometimes but only when I can get a car to use. There are three buildings there too. We would go and come back and stay at Kintore for a while.

(End of extract)

In the early 1990s Namarari may have spent more time at Ngutjul and Kintore than on his outstation. Bartlett estimates that Namarari lived in Kintore itself from about 1995 onwards[783], having lived on the outstations. The Nyunman outstation was empty when audited in 1992 as part of the Department of Lands and Housing's outstations study.[784]

Batty recorded his oral history interview with Namarari at the outstation in the winter of 1992, though they drove out and back, staying overnight (see App. 5). In addition to that interview, another project at the time involving Batty and Namarari was the filming for a documentary (*Benny and the Dreamers*). The film focuses on the journey of the Pintupi leaving their country, living at Papunya and their eventual return to the west. Namarari and Benny Tjapaltjarri feature as two of the main interviewees, sitting together and sharing their stories with an (off-screen) interviewer (Ken Hansen). One of the additional interviews for the film was recorded at Putarti in 1992.[785] The interviewer asks Namarari and Benny about that place and they reminisce about its reliable life-giving water. 'The old people drank here', comments Namarari, and pointing, 'they would grind seeds over there'.

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[782] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri, translations for the film Benny and the Dreamers, Supplement. Translation by John Heffernan. 1992. Property of Philip Batty, viewed October 2011.

[783] This matches with PTA staff recollections.

[784] Regional profile incorporating outstations in the vicinity of Papunya, Mount Liebig and Kintore. Acer Vaughan, Alice Springs. (undated, 1992-93 assumed)

[785] Oral history of Benny Tjapaltjarri. Translations for *Benny and the Dreamers*, from footage shot at Putarti with Benny Tjapaltjarri and Mick Namarari. Translation by John Heffernan. Interviewer Ken Hansen. 1992. Property of Philip Batty, Melbourne, viewed October 2011.

Namarari says the spring's flow 'never stops even in summer'. However, times have changed. The interviewer asks, 'would you drink from it now?' 'No', they reply, 'it's horse and camel piss now. See? This water is no good now. It's just piss'. Their disparaging description reminds me of a visit to the nearby site Muruntji with Namarari's grandson Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa.[786] The cavernous creek-fed water storage was a muddy fouled sludge (caused by camels).

PTA staff recalled several visits with Namarari to his country in the 1990s. At Kintore Namarari brought up the subject of site visits several times with Paul Walsh (a PTA field worker) saying, 'you might take me to Marnpi, my country'. Walsh remembers taking him to Marnpi a number of times: 'he loved it, he was delighted to have the opportunity to visit'.[787] They also went to Nyunmanu on one occasion where Namarari pointed out several features, enhancing Walsh's understanding of 'the dingo story' at that place.

PTA's Manager in 1994, Faye Bell, assisted by Karin Coldrey,[788] took Namarari and Elizabeth for a day trip to the Nyunman outstation 'which he appreciated'.[789] A series of Coldrey's photographs recorded the group's adventure that day.[790] The first snap is of a straight-faced Namarari sitting cross-legged on the floor in Kintore's painting shed and a smiling Coldrey, with his painting. The next shows the group enjoying a stopover at a rockhole (probably Putja, en route to Nyunman). At the outstation one photograph shows the solar panels and a satellite dish perched on the flat roof. Another photograph has him sitting on the ground flanked by Bell and Coldrey, with the painting resting on his knees, their small group dressed in the retiring shadows of late afternoon.

On at least one occasion PTA's field workers Paul Sweeney and Wayne Eager took Namarari out to Nyunman. Sweeney recalls he might have said to Namarari, 'this is a pretty good place mate' and Namarari replied, 'yes, it's mine, you can come here'.[791] Eager recalls they 'hung around, walked around collecting firewood, Mick told stories, dingo stories' which was enjoyable because it was 'just Mick', though on the last night 'his family turned up and then it gets chaotic because they all want something'.[792] One wonders just how often in his latter years Namarari was able to find the peace and quiet he cherished. In the 1940s and 50s in

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[786] Field trip to Mt Liebig, Muruntji visit on November 7, 2009.

[787] Paul Walsh, interview with the author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.

[788] I met and interviewed Karin Coldrey, a Visual Arts graduate, with Bell in Melbourne in March 2010. She readily recalled her 1994 trips with Bell out west and provided her notes about artist's materials, offering more key points about techniques and the materials used by PTA artists.

[789] On May 14th 1994. (Faye Bell and Karin Coldrey, interview with author, March 24, Melbourne, 2010.)

[790] Viewed with Bell and Coldrey during interview with author, March 24, Melbourne, 2010.

[791] Paul Sweeney, PTA staff survey, July 2011.

[792] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

the Haasts Bluff region there was ample opportunity to find peace and quiet away from the settlement's to and fro. It was not that simple at Papunya and Kintore.

2 A name in the market

In the 1990s Namarari's output rose from sixteen paintings in 1991, to twenty-six in 1992, thirty-four in 1993 and a peak of seventy-one in 1994, and then declined from sixty-two in 1995 and fifty in 1996, before dropping to thirty-two in 1997 and fourteen in the final eight months of his life. Irrespective of his increasing age and reported failing health, Namarari continued to paint regularly.

The early 1990s saw an enhancement in Namarari's reputation. After twenty years of continuous painting, he achieved recognition as a significant Aboriginal artist. The transformation was marked by awards and solo exhibitions, themselves an acknowledgement that an individual had risen, or was being lifted, above the group. In 1991 he won the eighth National Aboriginal Art Award, conducted by the Museum and Art gallery of the NT in Darwin, with his painting 'Bandicoot Dreaming'. In 1994 he was the joint winner of The Alice Prize (an annual art award in Alice Springs) and was also the recipient of the prestigious (and inaugural) national Red Ochre Award, an initiative of the Commonwealth government. In that same short period (1991-94), PTA mounted annual solo exhibitions of his work in conjunction with Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi in Melbourne (1991-92) and Utopia Art Sydney (1993-94). In market parlance, Namarari had 'made it'. Aspects of the awards and solo shows are examined briefly here, before returning to the chronology of his relationships with PTA's staff, notably Walsh, Bell, Taylor, Sweeney and Eager.

This painting story [PS#14] discusses the award-winning painting from mid 1991 (Desert bandicoot Dreaming MN910718[793]). I contend that Namarari's inventiveness on that occasion was the culmination of a process (viz. artistic intent) not a one-off experiment. Elizabeth remembers her husband painting at Ngutjul: 'sitting on the ground, in the sun, next to the fire'.[794] Peter Bartlett also recalls Namarari painting at the Ngutjul outstation when living there in 1991. Bartlett would 'wander down to the little block shelter every now and then and look at his painting', which left Bartlett thinking, 'Oh, this is a good painting'.[795] After Namarari completed it he said to Bartlett, 'Oh Tjapaltjarri,[796] take it home and put it up til Daphne (Williams) comes' (from Alice Springs), so Bartlett put it up at his

[793] The painting may be viewed on the MAGNT website:
http://natsiaadigitisation.nt.gov.au/docs/index.php?typ=artwork&p1=WAL-0268
[794] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, May 31, 2013, Kintore.
[795] Peter Bartlett, interview with author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.
[796] Bartlett's kinship name.

house at Ngutjul and admired it.[797] Williams subsequently collected the painting and entered it into the national Aboriginal art competition in Darwin, which it won.[798] Namarari's first art award was a significant formal recognition of his prowess. It is no coincidence that the year 1991 also saw the first of his four consecutive annual solo exhibitions in Melbourne and Sydney.

Figure 27 Ngutjul outstation house (2011)

Fig 28 Ngutjul outstation service hub (2011)

[797] Peter Bartlett, interview with author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

[798] The 8th year of the competition, managed by the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory.

Namarari had completed a similar design to the award-winning painting on a smaller canvas two months beforehand (MN910561). This invites speculation that he was inspired by something at the time, perhaps the site, the story, the animal or something aesthetic. Perhaps he was tinkering with a new pattern featuring lines in a combination of graceful arcs and sharp angles. Here he uses dramatic, contrasting colours (white-yellow-red-grey) repetitively in the tightly controlled stripes that radiate from the static, bold red, oval shape, highlighted with a soft yellow perimeter. This painting is another example of Namarari using a simple premise (the animal's scratching around its shelter) to inspire a composition. There are no stylised concentric circles representing place, no stylised footprints representing travel, and no suggestion of ceremonial activity. The painting is not notable for its cultural meaning, as the PTA certificate shows (MN910718).[799] The painting reflects the artist's experimentation, and the striking impact of his inventive design caught the eyes of the judges.

There is however a minor item that invites clarification. The PTA certificate contains a likely error that persists in MAGNT's record (Namarari's painting went into its collection[800]). The quoted site Putja is actually south (not northwest) of Sandy Blight Junction,[801] and I suspect the site name should be 'Kutju', which is northwest of Sandy Blight (and Kintore). Kutju is cited elsewhere in PTA certificates for the Bandicoot Dreaming and is most likely associated with Namarari's father. Two years after the Darwin award Namarari completed another Bandicoot Dreaming painting with an overtly similar design (MN931038, 182 x 152cm). The field notes and diagram show the central hill, the bandicoot's camping position and the 'pushed grass', with the annotation: 'Kutju round hill nth Kintore. Mick's father's dreaming. Bandicoot dreaming'.[802] It is likely that a person of influence prevailed upon Williams at PTA to ask Namarari to 'do another one like that winning painting' and then acquired it from PTA in late 1993.[803]

Namarari's award-winning proficiency was rewarded with increased exposure and solo exhibitions. The first of these (Melbourne, 1991) was successful and led to three more in relatively quick succession. The Sydney and Melbourne

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[799] The painting depicts the Tjakalpa (Desert bandicoot) Dreaming at the site of Putja to the northwest of Sandy Blight Junction. In mythological times the bandicoot ancestors camped near this site. The central circle represents a hill at the site. The desert bandicoot makes a shelter of a grass-lined nest in a scrape under litter, grass or a shrub. The lines emanating from the circle show the scratch marks of the bandicoot as it builds the nest.

[800] MAGNT collection number WAL-0268.

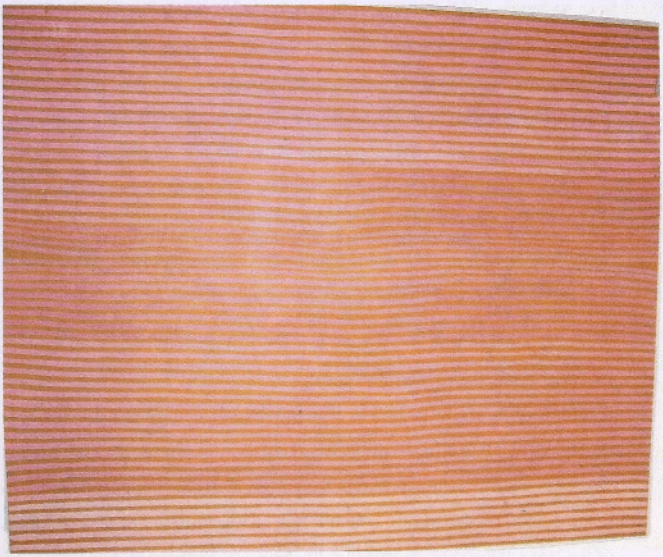
[801] A number of PTA field notes and therefore certificates mistakenly locate Putja (alt. Putjanya) to the north or northwest of Kintore. It is southeast.

[802] PTA archive, field note for MN931038.

[803] In my experience of PTA over many years, staff resist attempts by third parties to 'order' a certain style of painting from an artist. That 1993 painting was gifted to the NGV collection in 2002, where it remains (Judith Ryan, NGV, corres. to author, July 2011).

markets (there was no internet in those days for the instantaneous distribution of images) soaked up his work, enthusiastically promoted by the gallery directors, Gabrielle Pizzi in Melbourne and Christopher Hodges in Sydney. An accompanying essay about Namarari's art was part of Utopia Art Sydney's exhibition in 1993.[804] One of the paintings from the 1994 show achieved prominence, including breaking the auction record for Namarari's work.

Figure 29 (MN940293) See Painting story #15



This painting story [PS#15] is about that painting, first exhibited in 1994: 'Rain Dreaming at Nyunmanu' (MN940293, see Fig. 29) It is selected here for three reasons though the subject 'rain' was rarely chosen by Namarari.[805] Firstly, a correction can be made concerning the site, which is *not* Nyunmanu but nearby Tjiterangu: the Rain Dreaming is on the 'other side of Nyunman (Tjiterangu)', with 'sandhills on either side also spinifex and water in centre'.[806]

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[804] Rudolf Talmacs, 1993, review for Utopia Art Sydney gallery, supplied to the author by UAS, 2009. Rather bizarrely, that essay was included in the Biennale of Sydney 2000 catalogue (p. 114) to accompany Namarari's art, as though nothing new could be said of Namarari or his art seven years after the first Sydney solo show.

[805] The only other works located were: 'Rainbow' at Watukarri (MN820929), 'Rain Dreaming' at Marnpi (MN931267) and 'Rainbow' at Lingakurra (MN940577); though MN780126 also contains a prominent rainbow.

[806] Field note for MN940293.

The painting's design and masterful execution offers an image suggestive of beauty rather than power, and subtlety rather than boldness. It relies firstly on delicate colouration using tonal variations of pink contrasting with soft translucent yellow; and secondly on repetition, with its distinctive linearity. The combination sets it apart from the work of Namarari's contemporaries who were experimenting with dotted linear motifs in the early 1990s (Turkey Tolson, Ronnie Tjampitjinpa and George Tjungurrayi). The composition is built upon carefully executed smooth, long brush strokes and subtle shifts in the two colours used.

Viewed from the air, sandhills present a parade of roughly straight-line forms as alternating narrow ridges of light and shadow. Namarari had certainly flown across such country though the inspiration of an aerial perspective for his painted representation is speculative. However, Kimber's comment connecting perspective and practice is significant:[807]

> I recall that in about 1990 or so, Namarari and one other Pintupi man were flown over their country by helicopter, to assist an anthropologist record site locations. The information recorded during the flight is not available for publication. It had a reinvigorating effect on his paintings, in my view.

Namarari's stripes pattern was innovatory. His 1994 Rain Dreaming painting has an absence of the 'dotting, concentricity and outlining' that Carty regarded as the marks central to abstraction in contemporary Western Desert art (Carty, 2012), thus I proffer linearity itself as a fourth category for his analysis. One of Namarari's innovations in the early 1990s was the introduction of entirely linear striped compositions, which followed his entirely linear dotted compositions of the late 1980s (such as MN891111, Fig. 22). That 'mini-movement' within PTA's art history has been described as part of a 'minimalist approach' (Kean 2006) and 'ethereal minimalism', itself evidence of 'continual reinvention' within Papunya Tula Art (Perkins & Fink, 2007, p. 184). However, its stylistic transitions have not been systematically studied and the formal analysis of multiple works by particular artists is warranted (and overdue).[808]

The final reason for selecting Namarari's Rain Dreaming painting relates to its status in the market and the reputation of the artist. In 1994 a private collector purchased it for $4,000 at Utopia Art Sydney's exhibition.[809] The painting was selected for inclusion in important public exhibitions, including the 12th Biennale of Sydney in 2000 (Hetti Perkins curated Namarari's work). Through public

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[807] Dick Kimber, interview with author, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.

[808] Additional research to study paintings from that period by Namarari, Turkey Tolson, Ronnie Tjampitjinpa and George Tjungurrayi to uncover the specific innovatory sequences among those Papunya Tula artists.

[809] Christopher Hodges, Utopia Art Sydney, conversation with author, 2009.

exhibitions the painting acquired a reputation, underlining in turn Namarari's creativity.[810] After nearly twenty years in one collection, it recently returned to the market for the first time. The painting achieved a hammer price at auction of $180,000 (a financial return of 4,500%).[811] This quantitative evidence illustrates that the artist's stocks have improved considerably, stimulating further market interest in his career. This, I contend, is further evidence in support of a major retrospective of Namarari's work.

Namarari's capacity to produce a solid body of high quality work over successive years, together with the formal recognition flowing from art awards and positive feedback from the solo shows, prompted PTA staff to act further on his behalf. In 1994 Bell saw an advertisement for the Commonwealth Government's inaugural Red Ochre Award to honour Indigenous artists.[812] She thought Namarari would be 'a worthy recipient' and contacted Christopher Hodges (Utopia Art Sydney) and Judith Ryan (NGV), who offered additional endorsements for her proposal.[813] Bell's proposal included her covering letter with 'the artist's curriculum vitae, letters of support from curators of prominent public collections, images from solo exhibition catalogues, a critical appraisal of Tjapaltjarri's work and a set of transparencies'.[814]

In her letter Bell portrays Namarari as loyal to PTA and a 'pioneer of the Papunya Tula art movement' whose work 'is informed by a deep understanding of the spiritual life of his people and intricate knowledge of land forms, vegetation and animal characteristics born of his nomadic childhood'. Bell notes that Namarari 'was cut off from his homeland largely as a result of government policies which hindsight views very harshly', whereas it seems he left his homeland of his own accord, though the sentiment could appeal to decision-makers in distant Canberra. Bell finishes with a flourish on behalf of this 'unassuming yet spectacularly gifted man' whose work 'could proceed less hindered by economic disadvantage' if he were to win.

One of the inclusions in Bell's submission was a supporting letter from Christopher Hodges, familiar with Namarari's work since the late 1980s. For

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[810] The painting's exhibition history is listed in The Laverty Collection contemporary Australian art, Bonham's auction catalogue, 2013, p. 162.

[811] The Laverty Collection contemporary Australian art, lot #101, Bonham's auction, Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, March 24, 2013. To date this is the record price for a single work by Namarari.

[812] Established by the Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Arts Board, the award provided $50,000 to the winner and a brass plaque designed by Melbourne Aboriginal graphic artist Clive Atkinson. ("Red Ochre Award Honours Aboriginal Desert Painter Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri" in Aboriginal Child at School Vol 22 (4) Nov/Dec 1994: 31-32. National Library of Australia, article accessed July 10, 2011.)

[813] Sent 8th April, 1994, to the Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Arts Unit of the Australia Council, Sydney.

[814] Faye Bell, cover letter for the PTA submission to the 1994 Red Ochre Award.

Hodges, Namarari's paintings 'were subtle but powerful images, exploring the force of traditional design, the use of figuration and the depth of meaning that could be revealed in transcendent abstract works'. Namarari's paintings represented 'clarity and certainty, a profound moral integrity', they 'speak of faith and a knowledge of the truth' and Hodges was confident that Namarari was 'a man at home with himself, centred and not oppressed by the sort of indulgent ego that has afflicted many in his position'.[815] Bell's and Hodges' effusive references helped the judges make their choice.

Namarari was announced as the winner of the inaugural Red Ochre Award and PTA was duly advised. Bell took 'Namarari and Elizabeth down to Canberra where he reportedly met Keating (the Prime Minister) and received the Award and the $50,000 prize money, and enjoyed himself'.[816] That was the only known occasion in which Namarari's wife accompanied him on a city tour. The presentation ceremony of was held in the Great Hall at Parliament House, Canberra on the 17th of October 1994.[817] The Minister for Communication and the Arts at the time, the Hon. Michael Lee, presented Namarari with the award, intended to help the artist achieve the highest potential in his or her particular art form. It was announced that Tjapaltjarri 'will be able to devote much more time to his work without the hindrance of economic disadvantage', thus Bell's clause had struck a chord; but what does it mean? I will take up that question on Namarari's return to Kintore (see below), for there has been no evidence yet that economic disadvantage was preventing Namarari from painting.

3 Painting relationships

Paul Walsh was a PTA field worker during 1993-94. One benefit of field trips for Walsh was 'seeing the paintings being constructed all the time'. According to Walsh, Namarari 'knew that I liked him' and 'would come over to the shed at Kintore and have a cup of tea and talk'. He considers that Namarari 'was a great artist' who 'could construct a superb painting'.[818] Namarari continued to act informally as a teacher, as Walsh recalls in one particular incident.

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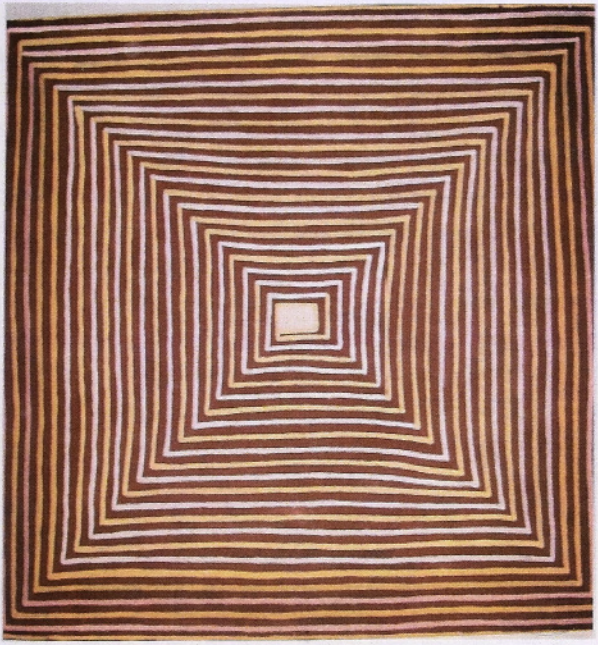
[815] Christopher Hodges, support letter to the PTA submission, 1994, supplied by Utopia Art Sydney.
[816] Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.
[817] Red Ochre Award Honours Aboriginal Desert Painter Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri. "Red Ochre Award Honours Aboriginal Desert Painter Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri, in Aboriginal Child at School Vol 22 (4) Nov/Dec 1994, pp. 31-32. National Library of Australia, article accessed July 10, 2011.
[818] Paul Walsh, interview with the author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.

Figure 30 (MN930630) See Painting story #16



Namarari had completed a Dingo Dreaming painting at his Kintore house and brought it to the art shed [PS#16)]. The painting 'had brown and white lines and at one point a line breaks into two lines',[819] (see upper left corner in Fig. 30.) I also noticed a similar variation in painting MN880919, see Fig. 23). Walsh noticed the broken line and was intrigued by that single variation. Namarari briefly described his painting (for Walsh's field note), saying the mother dingo 'scratches a hole in the sand and leaves her pups safely in the sand and goes off hunting'.[820] Walsh completed the formalities for the painting (viz. collect the story and pay the artist) and Namarari walked toward the door. There he abruptly stopped, turned, walked back and stood by the painting. He pointed to the broken line point on the canvas, turned to Walsh and said, 'that's where she scratched', and then left the

[819] Paul Walsh, interview with the author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne

[820] Walsh's approach was influenced by Daphne Williams. He said 'when the artist brought the painting in you could ask for the story. I tried not to be pushy. Daphne Williams gave me a lot of advice which was very helpful. One tip was to leave the picture against the wall for a week and allow the artists to give more information on subsequent visits'. (Paul Walsh, interview with author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.)

room. That incident had a strong impact on Walsh, for he had not asked Namarari to explain the variation.[821]

Walsh perceived Namarari to be 'very considered, a very quiet man with a strong personality'.[822] He added that Namarari could express his needs and explain, for example, 'this is causing me concern' or say 'I would like this to be done'. These requests might include needing more canvas, or enabling him to pay for something, or asking Walsh to approach the (white) doctor regarding a health issue for one of his relatives, or asking Walsh to approach the administrator at Kintore regarding council issues.[823] Walsh perceived old men such as Namarari to be 'enigmatic' and not trusting of white people because, he surmised, 'there were too many broken promises over the years'.[824] Namarari appears to have utilised Walsh's support to satisfy his needs at Kintore, which included the needs of relatives, suggesting that they had approached Namarari to act on their behalf. His influence with helpful whitefellas helped to resolve his relatives' problems. Namarari had progressed from merely 'dropping hints' to communicating his needs and interests. It has become clear that the whitefellas who spent some time with him warmed to his manner and were willing to support him.

Faye Bell was PTA's manager from late 1993 to early 1995. In 1994 it was 'only the men who were painting regularly'.[825] Bell 'first met Mick out at Kintore, where he lived with his wife Elizabeth and their children. He was in town, not at the outstation'.[826] She took canvases around to many artists in Kintore, including Namarari and Turkey Tolson, and on completion would collect the works and get the story from the artist for the documentation. She remembered Namarari's approach, as she 'couldn't help but notice his work was distinctive, though that wasn't talked about much at the time'.[827] On her field trips Bell would sometimes 'sit and stay a while with him working, though there was hardly any chat. He worked slowly and carefully', often on big canvases.[828] According to Bell during her time with PTA, Namarari 'was our finest artist'.[829]

Bell considered Namarari to be very reliable and most of his work 'top class', often displaying 'an element of difference' in his paintings or 'something

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821 Paul Walsh, interview with the author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne
822 Paul Walsh, interview with the author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.
823 Paul Walsh, interview with the author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.
824 Paul Walsh, interview with the author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.
825 Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November, 2009.
826 Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.
827 Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.
828 Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.
829 Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.

asymmetrical that you wouldn't expect'.[830] In the early 1990s Bell says he was at 'the top of the tree', having won art prizes in 1991 and 1994. She remembers getting the Alice Prize entry was 'a trial because the weather was so bad, all the rain, that the canvas had to be flown back to town from Kintore. It was worth it! That painting went into the Araluen collection'.[831] Bell believes the demands for money placed on Namarari by his relatives was one reason he continued to paint, though she also believes he found painting to be an enjoyable activity.[832] She admired Namarari, a man with 'a quiet manner and a gentle nature' who 'looked old' and had 'a very impressive personality', though there was more to him than first impressions:[833]

> He had some kind of mystique about him, though he also had a different side too once you got to know him better. If the family and other pressures on him built up too much the stress might cause him to 'blow his top', but that was rare. He was very quiet, it was part of his charm, but I don't think it was born of any reticence, I think it was part of his nature. His face says it all, such a gentle face. It was a privilege to be there and watch him paint, to be a part of that atmosphere, sitting there quietly.

Figure 31 Namarari painting MN940584 at Kintore. See Painting story #17

This painting story [PS#17] captures a moment when the artist's concentration was broken. In May 1994 Bell was with Namarari as he worked on a nearly-completed painting (Kungka Kutjarra Dreaming, MN940584, see Fig. 31). At one point in the composition a break in the sequence of coloured stripes is evident and it occurred when Namarari had completed some 90% of the canvas. It

[830] Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.
[831] Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.
[832] Faye Bell, PTA staff survey, July 2011.
[833] Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.

was at that point that Bell's group interrupted him, and according to Bell, he 'lost his place' and the rhythm was broken. Namarari's ability to maintain concentration was a critical factor when working with repetition. The painting was illustrated in the Australian Geographic Society's 1995 publication, 'The Red Centre' (Stanton, 1995, p. 34). The photograph shows Namarari standing with the painting upright in front of him as he holds its top corners and gazes away to his right. His head is hatless, for on this rare occasion the hat rests on the ground next to a puppy and neatly arranged pots of paint and brushes, giving the appearance a stage-managed composition.[834] The photographer Skipsey was utilising PTA's contact with the artists to extend his catalogue of artist's portraits, many of which subsequently appeared in Johnson's 'Lives of Papunya Tula Artists' compendium (2008). Here was an occasion when 'that quiet old man' had his work promoted in a publication, presumably without making such a request. An intriguing comparison may be made between Namarari's posture and countenance in that 1994 photograph with a 1972 photograph of him at Papunya holding a painting (Benjamin & Weislogel, 2009, p. 15). The stance has an air of disinterest or detachment.

Later that year Bell and Namarari travelled to Canberra for the Red Ochre Award and then to Sydney, where they visited Hodges' Utopia Art Sydney gallery in Stanmore, displaying Namarari's solo exhibition. A planned dinner in Namarari's honour went ahead without him that night because he was 'too tired, exhausted'.[835] The next day the group visited the Australian Museum to view its impressive Papunya boards collection, acquired in 1982. Some paintings were thought to contain restricted imagery and Namarari was requested by the curatorial staff (Karen Coote and Kate Khan) to inspect the paintings and comment upon their content and conservation. Hodges (who was present) recalled that 'Namarari looked at them like any artist, with the same amount of interest and appreciation of looking at a body of work that he hadn't seen, he enjoyed it a lot' and they discussed the imagery issue, 'basically he wasn't troubled by too much', though Hodges thought 'there might be a couple' (with restricted imagery).[836] Namarari 'made no complaint about anything but waved his hand in a particular way that I interpreted as meaning they were possibly tricky. He fully supported the works be conserved if necessary and gave permission.[837]

Namarari once again performed a cross-cultural task, applying his knowledge of men's paintings to assist an institution. Coote later wrote to Bell, 'I

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[834] A professional photographer, Barry Skipsey from Alice Springs, had joined Bell for that portion of her trip.

[835] Christopher Hodges, interview with author, Sydney, November 26, 2009.

[836] Christopher Hodges, corres. with author, May 2013.

[837] Christopher Hodges, interview with author, November 26, 2009, Sydney.

know already from our meeting with Mick Namerari (sic) Tjapaltjarri that in principle he did not seem to have any concerns about what we intended to do'.[838] The Museum's staff acknowledged his contribution, believing he understood their concerns, which assisted them in the collection management and conservation.[839]

After the Canberra ceremony and the Sydney stopover the group returned to Alice Springs. Namarari now had a cheque for $50,000, a considerable sum of money for someone accustomed to receiving tens or hundreds of dollars, perhaps a few thousand, for individual paintings. Some twenty years of dedication and artistic production had come to this point for Namarari. It is not clear (referring back to the Red Ochre Award documentation) how the aging man would benefit by 'devoting much more time to his work' nor had any particular economic disadvantage been established that $50,000 would reliably overcome. Namarari's financial situation seems (in retrospect) uncomplicated: PTA provided everything he needed in order to paint, it paid him for his paintings, and he lived a frugal life.[840] He had a house in Kintore and an outstation, provided by the government at no expense to the recipient. The one financial constant in that frugal world was the continuing demands of his family, matched by his willingness to provide.

On his return to Alice Springs it seems the first thing he did – or that someone asked him to do – was use the $50,000 cheque to purchase a new Toyota four-wheel drive,[841] the premier choice for motoring in Central Australia. A man with a Toyota had superior mobility. However, did the award reduce his 'economic disadvantage'? The question comes to this: what happened to the Toyota?

Peter Bartlett was one of Namarari's associates who observed the vehicle's fate. He said 'within one year it was a total wreck' and he 'battled to get three thousand dollars for the wreck in Alice Springs'.[842] The early demise of the Toyota was inevitable given its treatment, as 'everyone drove it because Mick didn't drive'.[843] On one occasion Bartlett's work team was busy at Yuwalki outstation when they saw Namarari's Toyota being used to chase down camels in the bush. It returned later, already damaged from 'bush-bashing', with 'a baby camel with its head out the side window'.[844] Namarari was not the driver. Wayne Eager (of PTA)

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[838] Karen Coote, Senior Conservator, Australian Museum, letter to Faye Bell, January 24, 1995. PTA archive, AGNSW, viewed February 2012.

[839] DVD title 'Australian Museum Aboriginal art November 1994', The Australian Museum Collection, narrators Karen Coote & Kate Khan. PTA archive, AGNSW, viewed February 2012.

[840] No informants for this project reported Namarari having any appetite for assets. He is not known to have had any substantial debts.

[841] Their spacious interiors accommodated many passengers, thus their nick-name 'troopie', or troop-carrier.

[842] Peter Bartlett, interview with author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

[843] Peter Bartlett, interview with author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

[844] Peter Bartlett, interview with author, November 20, 2008, Alice Springs.

remembers the vehicle did not survive til its first service due at six months, because of 'young fellas' driving it and Namarari's inability to control them, which 'caused him a lot of stress'.[845] A letter from the car dealer arrived at Kintore for Namarari, which Eager opened for him: 'Dear Mr Tjapaltjarri, we congratulate you on your purchase of your new Toyota troopie, and this is a reminder notice that the first service is free of charge'. Eager advised him, 'I don't think you have to worry *tjilpi*', for the vehicle had been 'trashed within three months'.[846]

The Toyota story does seem to illustrate one aspect of Namarari's character. That is, in the face of the demands by others he found it difficult to oppose them, either physically or verbally. He may have been adhering to a cultural dictum, that 'a man who is unwilling to let relatives borrow his vehicle is deprecated as 'hungry for that motorcar'' (Myers, 1991, p. 111). The $50,000 resource was squandered – in my estimation in half a year, though it was in recognition of over twenty years of consistent work by Namarari. Whether it was effectively 'taken from him' or 'he shared it' is a moot point: that Toyota was finished. Namarari's role as a provider did not skip a beat and work resumed its normal setting: if some of those around him needed money then he needed to keep painting. Namarari produced more paintings and earned more income in the year *after* receiving the award than in the twelve months prior.[847] If he did harbour thoughts of using his own vehicle to travel to and from Nyunman, they quickly evaporated. The possibility that Namarari might 'retire' from his painting work, at seventy years of age, was not a realistic option. The romantic notion that 'Aboriginal people look after and care for their old people' appears wide of the mark. From the various accounts gathered for this project, the pressure on Namarari seems to have been relentless and the $50,000 award did not relieve his perceived 'economic disadvantage'.

Jenny Taylor worked for PTA in early 1995 after Bell's departure. On a trip out west in early 1995 Williams introduced Taylor to Namarari. Taylor observed that 'she held him in such high regard and he was someone really softly spoken and very gentle'.[848] Over time Taylor appreciated Namarari's personality and his approach as an artist because 'he didn't push himself forward', and he was 'lovely to work with because he had a sense of humour and he didn't take himself incredibly seriously'.[849] 'It was' she added, 'beautiful to watch him painting'. Taylor recalls that few PTA artists spent much time in Alice Springs ('town') in

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[845] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.
[846] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.
[847] Namarari's catalogue raisonne, assembled by the author.
[848] Jenny Taylor, interview with author, May 5, 2010, Alice Springs.
[849] Jenny Taylor, interview with author, May 5, 2010, Alice Springs.

early 1995 but as time passed 'Turkey Tolson and Namarari used to come in more often'.[850] She often found the pace at PTA's small gallery/office in town frantic and some artists applied pressure to staff. That was not the case with Namarari, she observed - 'he's not a pressuring type of guy'.[851] Taylor's comments about Namarari echo those of Holt regarding the mid 1970s. Perhaps it characterised the an unassuming pragmatist, one who keeps a low profile and hopes for the best, is friendly and helpful but not overbearing, and makes use of what they are dealt.

Paul Sweeney and Wayne (Iggy) Eager worked as PTA field workers in the mid to late 1990s, spending considerable time at Kintore using PTA's improved accommodation. They could easily observe Namarari painting because a room at the painting shed was 'basically dedicated to him whenever he wanted it', to which he responded 'very, very positively'.[852] Namarari was the only artist to have a space reserved for his use in the 1990s, the consequences of which are considered regarding his Tjunginpa paintings (see below). Sweeney first encountered Namarari at Kintore and found him to be 'easy-going, not a demanding person, a gentle soul who was pretty easy to get along with', acknowledging (like Kean) that 'we were from completely different backgrounds and generations and worlds really'.[853] Of all the older artists Sweeney found Namarari was 'probably the most reserved of the men of his generation'.[854] Sweeney observed Namarari painting 'many, many times' and though Namarari endured occasional visitors he preferred working alone:[855]

> His family would come in and sit around and chat. You know I think with a lot of those old guys they just sort of drift off a bit, to a different place. He wasn't a big talker, not that I ever knew, I don't know if he was when he was younger. He was pretty quiet around the shed. He was not an outspoken person, so, when he was painting that was even less so.

Eager's first encounter with Namarari was through his art in the group exhibitions in Melbourne in the 1980s and the solo shows in the early 1990s. At the Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Eager (a practising artist) found Namarari's solo exhibition to be 'monumental, it was like a chapel, like a religious experience, it left a huge impression'.[856] In 1992 Eager attended the Yuendumu Sports day[857] (during a visit to CA) and introduced himself to Namarari, telling him that he admired his

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[850] Jenny Taylor, interview with author, May 5, 2010, Alice Springs.

[851] Jenny Taylor, interview with author, May 5, 2010, Alice Springs.

[852] Paul Sweeney, PTA staff survey, July 2011.

[853] Paul Sweeney, PTA staff survey, July 2011.

[854] Paul Sweeney, PTA staff survey, July 2011.

[855] Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

[856] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

[857] Sports carnivals are big events in Western Desert communities and many people travel hundreds of klms to participate and socialise. Yuendumu is northwest of Alice Springs.

paintings. Eager recalled that Namarari replied 'I paint real slow, no rush, just slow', and 'big ones, little ones, just slow, everytime'.[858] That statement from Eager remains the only known statement made by Namarari, in English, about his technique. Namarari's rare (in English) evaluative comment about painting describes his behaviour, mirroring his approach to life: he paints slowly, he waits as his garden grows slowly, he walks slowly and waits patiently, he makes new friends slowly and he even showed patience with that donkey at Tempe Downs as he lightly touched its face until it settled. Though he expressed anger or frustration ('blew his top') on occasion, he was known more for his steadiness.

On one occasion at Kintore's painting shed, Eager showed Namarari an album with photographs of his own paintings:[859]

> Namarari looked through it all, real slowly, looked through it all, and by the time I bought him his cup of tea and cake he'd finished and he handed it back to me and he said (pointing to Eager then to himself) 'number one, level'. And that's the best compliment I've ever had from anybody, I didn't deserve it, but he's generous.

Namarari expressed his admiration of Eager's paintings with gestures and a few words to say 'both of us are number one', a morale boost for the young artist from Melbourne by the master from Marnpi.

4 Painting close-up: the *Tjunginpa works*

This painting story [PS#18] attends closely to the moment-to-moment application of paint onto canvas. Namarari's reputation was boosted by his late-career innovatory flair: 'In his last works, abstraction itself has come to embody the narrative, and it is paintings such as these that have earned Mick Namarari an incomparable place in the history of Papunya Tula and Australian art' (Perkins & Fink 2007, p. 187). The 'paintings such as these' referred to include Namarari's *Tjunginpa* works.[860] This study of those works addresses two related questions: how did Namarari create his *Tjunginpa* paintings and what may be gleaned about his character and artistic practice at that time in his career?

The choice of Tjunginpa paintings for analysis is facilitated by comparatively rich sources. Firstly, the quantity is exceptional: Namarari completed fifty-five Tjunginpa paintings from 1990 to 1998.[861] The majority (forty-three) were painted between February 1996 and August 1998, or nearly 50%

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858 Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

859 Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

860 The origin of Namarari's authority to paint the *Tjunginpa tjukurrpa* is unclear, except that the Tjapaltjarri-Tjungurrayi subsections are associated with *Tjunginpa.*

861 Annual output figures identified through my catalogue raisonne research.

of his output for that limited period. Secondly, many of PTA's staff employed during 1990-98 were available as informants for this project.[862] Thirdly, images or the paintings themselves were more often available.[863]

Figure 32 (MN970853) See Painting story #18

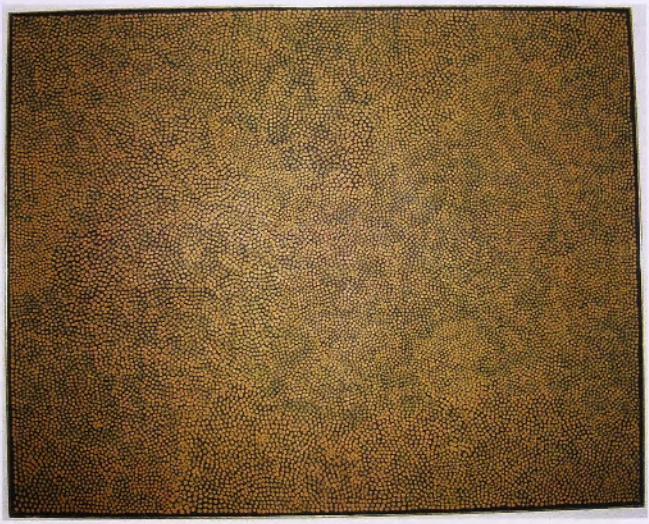
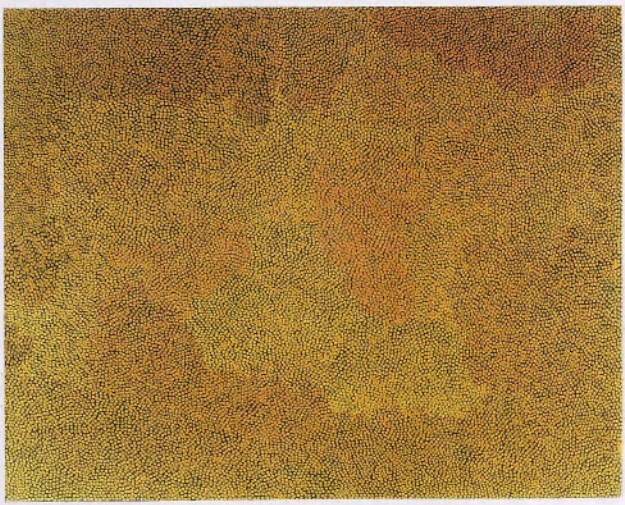


Figure 33 (MN980774) See Painting story #18



[862] Staff included Williams, Bell, Walsh, Taylor, Sweeney and Eager.

[863] This is generally the case for 1990s paintings compared to the previous decades.

The term *Tjunginpa* represents both place (site) and story (*tjukurrpa*) about a small rodent (itself the *tjunginpa*). The PTA field notes and certificates contain brief but consistent information for these paintings. One certificate (MN970853) states: 'the overall dotting represents the footprints of the mouse and also kampurarrpa,[864] an edible berry, which is eaten by the mouse'. This phrase occurs on other certificates, one of which adds that the mouse also eats the kampurarrpa flowers, themselves represented by dots. There are no *tjukurrpa*-related ceremonial references in the MN970853 certificate, except that the 'custodians for the ceremonies' are men of the Tjapaltjarri subsection.[865] Namarari gave no explanation regarding the connection between the painted images and the *Tjunginpa tjukurrpa* itself from a ceremonial perspective. There is no suggestion in PTA's documentation that his paintings are a topographical depiction of the hill site of *Tjunginpa,* which is located northwest of Kintore.

There are three related aspects of Namarari's practice to consider in the production of the *Tjunginpa* canvases: the studio environment, mark-making and compositional design. Several *Tjunginpa* paintings were studied,[866] though one of these had an unexpected PTA annotation.[867] Eyewitness accounts of Namarari painting were gathered from PTA staff (notably Sweeney and Eager) and Namarari's widow, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra.[868] Sweeney made a series of video films in the mid to late 1990s, some showing Namarari working on *Tjunginpa* paintings in PTA's painting shed at Kintore.[869] I identified the paintings MN970992 and MN971088 (1997) and MN9805104 (1998) as the particular paintings in Sweeney's films, which were otherwise not identified.[870] Namarari also featured in a documentary made for the Kluge Collection's Papunya Tula 20th anniversary commission (see Dyer, 1996). He is shown working on a small *Wanampi* painting[871] and describing its subject matter in Pintupi and English. The significant benefit of the Sweeney and Kluge film footage lay in seeing the artist working on his canvases for extended periods of time with frequent close-up

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[864] Incidentally – and to avoid possible confusion – *Kampurarrpa* is also the name of a site just northeast of Ilpilli.

[865] A few certificates recorded that Tjunginpa was the country of the Tjapaltjarri and Tjungurrayi subsections, information most likely provided by the artist.

[866] In particular: MN920716, MN970853, MN970992, MN970996, MN9805104, MN980774.

[867] The painting MN920716 looks just like a Tjunginpa composition, but the PTA field note states the dotting represents' spinifex and sandhills' at the site Marnpi. (illus. Dyer, 1996, p. 47)

[868] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interviews with author, March 16, 2007 and August 1, 2011, Kintore. Elizabeth observed her husband working on his Mouse Dreaming paintings in the 1990s at Kintore.

[869] Films held in the PTA archive, Art Gallery of NSW.

[870] There is generally no audio narration on Sweeney's films and no identification by name of any artist being filmed, nor any description of the paintings in progress, nor any commentary by artists to the camera operator.

[871] Identified as MN931229 by the author, illustrated in Dyer, 1996, pp. 48-49.

shots.[872] The footage of the artist performing his work provided an alternate point of view to formal analyses of paintings and oral history interviews.

To set the scene of the artist at work, I have drawn this montage from Sweeney's original unedited footage, filmed over a period of weeks at the painting shed. As usual in Sweeney's filming Namarari does not speak nor is he spoken to:[873]

> Namarari is sitting cross-legged on the floor adjacent to his canvas, in the room alone, with his hat on. He is painting outwards from the dotted area immediately in front of him. He lightly supports his right wrist with his left hand and completes about eight dots per application, orange dots on a red ground. In a later scene Namarari is sitting beside the canvas, with his hat off, holding his brush and dotting. He has straggly grey thick hair and an untidy beard and is wearing a long sleeve brown and white checked shirt and old dark trousers. He is sitting on the floor with his left leg crossed underneath and his right leg pulled under in men's sitting fashion. His crumpled hat is placed under his left knee as a support. There are pots of paint to his left and right and the stretched canvas is flat on the floor. He is very careful in placing the tip of the brush into the paint pot so as not to overload it. No paint drips onto his canvas in any the filmed sequences. The dots in this painting are placed with the brush tip at an angle to the canvas, not 'top down' at 90° to form a sphere. Namarari uses an even gentle press of the brush tip each time to unload its cargo, dot by dot. Since he is not utilising a translucent effect in this painting, the paint is not thinned and he has no need to flick off the watery excess. At times Namarari sits on the canvas itself. At one point he stops a moment to carefully shift the paint pot forward, then moves his hat and knee slightly forward to get closer to the blank area he is painting mid-canvas. The paint pot rests on a sheet of paper, protecting the canvas itself. He loads up the brush and continues dotting, usually completing 7-9 dots per application. On another occasion he stops, transfers the brush to his left hand, leans back and wipes the brush tip across the floor to remove built-up paint, then continues on. In a later scene, Namarari is in a rhythm, filling the final blank space with his dots. He then stops and looks up, expressionless. This painting is finished. Without a word Namarari abruptly flings the brush across the room to his right, then pushes back off the canvas to sit on the floor, remaining silent. He looks as though he might be very weary, or very relieved. The artist is motionless, seemingly oblivious to everything, saying nothing.

In the early 1990s Namarari painted mostly at his Kintore house or outstation. Walsh's observation at Kintore is timely regarding Namarari's preparation. When Walsh gave Namarari a canvas he would sit with him and watch for a while:[874]

> The most fascinating part was the start. He would put the canvas down and gather the paints and brushes. Depending on the size of the painting he would decide where to sit, think for a moment, dip the brush and begin.

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[872] The films are in colour and invariably the camera operator's skills are evident: a steady hand, even panning and zooming, controlled close-ups of the artist's hand and brush, and images of the completed works.

[873] Paul Sweeney video films, made at PTA's painting shed at Kintore, 1997-98. See Bibliography.

[874] Paul Walsh, interview wit author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.

Walsh also noticed that Namarari 'barely spoke whilst painting'.[875] According to Bell, Namarari's 'finely dotted works, like the Small Mouse stories, took so long and were very demanding on his concentration'.[876] PTA's improved staff accommodation and painting facilities at Kintore enabled it to have staff in regular attendance by the mid 1990s.[877] Sweeney and Eager provided Namarari with personalised attention and decided to allow him the almost exclusive use of one room in the painting shed, a service not afforded to any other artist in a reflection of Namarari's senior status and his cooperative personality. Sweeney reported that 'if he was there and wanting to work, we'd basically clear out anyone and anything so have it there for him'.[878] According to Eager, Sweeney and he each gave Namarari 'the most preferential treatment on all levels'.[879] That studio space was undoubtedly comfortable for Namarari. It facilitated his practice and was a place to escape the demands of everyday life at Kintore. Sweeney is unsure just how long the arrangement lasted, 'but there was some great pictures done in that room'.[880] Namarari showed signs of pacing himself, whether he was gathering paints and brushes, checking his water, deciding where to sit or finishing a cup of tea, it seems he was readying himself to paint. Here was a man who liked the physical things around him to be 'just so', and was not one to be rushed. For Sweeney and Eager, when they returned to Alice Springs from Kintore with rolls of completed paintings, 'the best things we could possibly bring back from Kintore (was) large size paintings by Mick'.[881]

In the mid 1990s the field workers would, Sweeney said, 'put out a bunch of (paint) colours and he picked what he wanted and picked the brushes, sometimes he'd use a couple of different brushes, sometimes he'd ask us to cut them down because the bristles were a bit long'.[882] Namarari 'preferred round head brushes, as opposed to the chisel head which he used elsewhere, because the round head bristle ends held a lot more paint'.[883] According to Eager, Namarari usually selected and mixed his own colours: 'he'd always ask for just the standard colours and then he'd be particular about doing them. He'd sometimes mix himself'.[884] Eager considered

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875 Paul Walsh, interview wit author, May 12, 2012, Melbourne.

876 Faye Bell, interview with author and additional correspondence, November 2009.

877 PTA staff stretched and primed canvases, prepared pots of paint and brushes, cleaned up the painting areas, provided endless cups of tea, and ferried artists around for shopping or collecting firewood.

878 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

879 Wayne Eager, PTA staff survey form, August 2011.

880 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

881 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

882 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

883 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

884 Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

that Namarari was 'meticulous in his choice of brushes and did not use sticks to make the dots'.[885] Namarari chose his colours and brushes with close attention, though Sweeney could not say if there was any reason why Namarari used those colours. However, Namarari did choose paint colours 'to suit the base coat he was working on' and 'sometimes he thinned his paints down'.[886] Paintings may comprise one colour only (MN970853 uses a single tone of yellow on a black background), or a range of colours (MN980774 uses cream, tan and orange tones). Colours are typically subdued, with no bold reds, blues, purples or greens visible.

The stated subject matter is the mouse and its footprints, flowers and berries. The painted surfaces exhibit a number of features. The most apparent is that they are comprised solely of coloured dots and space, with that space being the red or black basecoat of the primed canvas. There is no outlining. Rather than dots being used as infill or to decorate a drawn design, the entire image is an assembly of dots. The dotting represents the presence of the mouse in its habitat though it was not possible to reliably or consistently differentiate the dots as footprints, flowers or berries. Rarely do the dots touch each other in any painting. Dot separation requires the brush tip to be carefully pressed onto the canvas each time with precise control. The resultant negative spaces are typically entirely clean, a close inspection of the paintings indicated no paint splatter or brush drips (with the smallest and rarest of exceptions).

The smallest formal element in these paintings is the single dot, raising the question: are they arranged into particular motifs or are these fields of dots amorphous? The painting MN9805104 has small zones comprising near-straight adjacent lines of dots whereas MN970853 has no apparent dotted lines, yet numerous localised round or curved shapes. An earlier work, MN920716, includes several prominent short dotted lines scattered through the composition. In many paintings seemingly irregular patches or zones of dots are apparent. Variations within and between different zones on the canvas reflect differing dot sizes, consistently small or large (indicating two different brush sizes) rather than a spectrum, and changes in the density of dotting, closely packed or looser. No area of any canvas was left blank. Variations are also apparent in the opacity or translucency of the dots. Translucent dotting allows the red or black base coat to show through, giving an illusion of depth, albeit slight. In MN970853 the translucent yellow dots on a black basecoat appear as light shades of green from a distance and appear to recede, contrasting with the comparatively darker opaque yellow dots that stand out.

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[885] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

[886] Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

The field workers often observed Namarari 'flicking off the excess paint from the brush' and then working 'slowly and methodically'[887] and 'then he'd just dot, and he'd get maybe seven or eight dots out of it, load the brush again and flick it'.[888] Namarari had low tolerance for paint droplets that inadvertently landed on his canvas, another example of his fastidiousness, as Eager recalls:[889]

> Sometimes when he'd flick there'd be a couple of tiny little droplets on the canvas and then he'd call me over and get me to cover it, you know on the blank bit of the canvas, so particular, you wouldn't have noticed it once it was all filled in, but he liked to have that pristineness about it [...] he was just so tidy sometimes.

Namarari's wife sometimes sat with her husband as he painted and offered similar observations to the field workers. He would, Elizabeth said:[890]

> Put his brush in the paint and sometimes he's (flicking action) like this, and then start doing canvas [...] he cleaned the brush first then (demonstrating with her fingers curled around an imaginary brush) dot, dot, dot. Then putting it in water and cleaning up and (demonstrating a couple of flicks), yeah, he was always cleaning that brush (before dipping it into the paint).

Namarari's wife Elizabeth noticed the impact of distractions on her husband, recalling 'he painted at the painting shed and sometimes at home' but 'when there's too much noise at the painting shed he might make a mistake on that canvas'.[891] She said her husband was disturbed by 'the other people sitting around, making too much noise, talking and singing out to that whitefella (Papunya Tula staff), especially all those old ladies!'[892] Elizabeth added emphatically 'if somebody comes and make a noise, (such as) kids, he gets up and walks away, put all his stuff (away) and go, too much noise'.[893] For Namarari, noise was anathema to his preferred way of painting and 'walking away' may have been easier than chastising the noisemakers.[894] Examples of Namarari engaging in face-to-face disagreement are few and far between.

Sweeney surmised that in Namarari's mind 'the approach and the execution of the painting were perfectly resolved' and offered this description:[895]

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887 Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

888 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

889 Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

890 Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interviews with author, March 16, 2007 and August 1, 2011, Kintore.

891 Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interviews with author, March 16, 2007, Kintore.

892 Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interviews with author, March 16, 2007, Kintore.

893 Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interviews with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.

894 The Pintupi 'generally avoid outspoken criticism' (Myers, 1991, p. 38).

895 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

> Namarari might start dotting there (Sweeney demonstrated by tapping a pen to his left on the table) for a time, have a break and return later to start elsewhere (indicated by tapping a pen to his right). He would put a little cluster of dots in one area, and then break out into this line of dots, just in a straight line, to another area that he'd dotted. Which I always understood as being a track. And he used to bunch the dots into these little kinds of circles. So in some paintings you can see almost like a dotted roundel, a distinctive circular shape made from the dots. And then a line or two of dots which I always understood as the tracks leading into the holes.

Sweeney deduced two motifs: a line of dots could indicate the mouse's tracks, and the roundel shapes could indicate holes (the mouse's home). His interpretation has merit as a mini-narrative: the mouse leaves tiny tracks as it hops from its home under the clumps of spinifex to *kampurarrpa* plants nearby. That interpretation allows for the general scattering of dots to represent berries on the sand, flowers on bushes or tufts of spinifex. Elsewhere, in non-*Tjunginpa* paintings, Namarari applied yellow dots in a seemingly amorphous arrangement to represent spinifex (for example, on the perimeter of MN900742, see Fig. 25).

Eager took a different view based on design as an organic process, seeing the compositions as an outcome of technique rather than a consequence of a preordained plan. That is, they were a consequence of some intuitive process at work, which in part was founded on Namarari's 'painstakingly slow' pace in dotting, Eager noticing that 'he didn't dot all over the place, he just works patch by patch, he gradually works through the whole canvas [and] he let's the composition work itself out'.[896] Eager (himself an artist who painted desert scenes) deduced that Namarari 'designed as he progressed' on the *Tjunginpa* canvases. *Tjunginpa* canvases do not share the inevitability of say Turkey Tolson's contemporaneous Spear Straightening works,[897] because Tolson's dotted linear regularity dictates the design irrespective of the palette or where the artists begins and finishes.

The absence of any apparent horizon in the *Tjunginpa* paintings is another design feature, which may be true for the majority of Namarari's (and indeed Papunya Tula's) paintings of the 1990s.[898] Rather than picturing an extensive desert landscape where the observer is looking out and across, the perspective perhaps represents several square metres of desert ground at the artist's feet, as though the observer is looking down. Namarari learned as a child to read nature's innumerable signals, most particularly on the ground when tracking animals, and refined his skills in adulthood.

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[896] Wayne Eager, interview with author, May 6, 2010, Alice Springs.

[897] See for example Perkins & Fink, 2000, pp. 115 & 117.

[898] Ryan discusses this feature, referring to the 'perspective of a hunter-gatherer' and 'the artist's spatial affinity with the sky'. (Ryan, 1989, p. 27)

Significantly, according to Sweeney and Eager, Namarari did not 'start on one side and work across the canvas'. Sweeney's films also reveal in those instances at least, he did not start on one side and work all the way across.[899] As he painted 'patch by patch' and took breaks away from the canvas, Namarari returned each time with the opportunity to (re)consider 'and what shall I do here now?' Namarari's *Tjunginpa* canvases stand in sharp contrast to virtually all Pintupi artists at the time: he did not use a linear drawing of any kind to mark out the canvas (which could then be in-filled). Namarari was the only artist (along with Makinti Napanangka) who Eager observed could 'move out from a point on the canvas, completing the work as he went, rather than drawing it out then filling in the gaps or background'.[900] I surmise therefore that his method was a mix of predetermination (to cover this whole canvas in dots) and creativity (choosing brush size, canvas size, colour range, dotting density and dot opacity). The ways in which he brought those different elements together reflected his creativity.

Whilst Namarari's concern for intentional effect has been implicit in much of the foregoing, it requires particular attention. Namarari had a standard that he applied to his PTA's canvases. Elizabeth often sat with her husband when he was painting. Sometimes, 'Well, he'd sit around, first put that canvas to dry. If he sees something that's a mistake, he'd go over it'.[901] Sweeney noted Namarari's attention to detail, for example, that he would 'quite often go over things, he was certainly a perfectionist. He was aware of maintaining the quality'.[902] Sweeney observed that when artists such as Namarari spent time in town (Alice Springs), their work quality 'suffered dramatically as a consequence of demands that were put on them'[903] and 'we would firstly be welcoming people back after those trips away, working very closely with them to get their work back up to the standard that we all knew they could do, us and the artists themselves', and Namarari for one 'was able to apply himself' with 'his professionalism, following the episodes in town'.[904] Namarari, according to Sweeney, 'was very, very good at bouncing back'.[905] Namarari, it appears from these and others reports, had two quality grades: painting at Kintore for PTA and painting in town for other outlets.

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899 Films viewed by the author, PTA archive, Art Gallery of NSW, February/March 2012.

900 Wayne Eager, PTA staff survey form, August 2011. It is perhaps not surprising that Eager, an artist himself, should pay attention to how other artists approached and executed their work.

901 Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interviews with author, March 16, 2007 and August 1, 2011, Kintore.

902 Paul Sweeney, interview with author, November 3, 2009, Alice Springs.

903 Namarari painted for a number of private dealers when in Alice Springs.

904 Paul Sweeney, PTA staff survey and interview with author, July 23, 2011, Alice Springs.

905 Paul Sweeney, PTA staff survey and interview with author, July 23, 2011, Alice Springs.

I argue for particular findings concerning Namarari's practice in the 1990s. He valued the privacy of a dedicated studio. He attended to the whole of the canvas with consistent effort and attention. He worked toward variations in patterning and opacity to create visual interest. He was a patient craftsman who selected his materials carefully and worked fastidiously in deep concentration. He was methodical in the application of paint and creative in the design of his compositions. His meticulous attention to detail on occasion bordered on an obsessive approach. He differentiated between lower and higher quality paintings. Namarari derived pleasure from his work.

For Namarari to paint to such a high quality three requirements needed to be met, characterised here as: the right relationship, the right conditions and the right materials. These requirements were fulfilled through painting for his company (PTA); being cared for by its competent and considerate staff; and having a steady supply of suitable materials in a comfortable studio setting. Namarari completed his mid 1990s *Tjunginpa* paintings in virtual solitude.

Attention can now be given - speculatively - to that which can be gleaned about the artist's motivation. Namarari's motivations were financial (to satisfy personal and family needs) and emotional. His dotted canvases were a manifestation of an inner connection. Observers described him being 'in the zone' or preoccupied with his own thoughts in a 'contemplative state'.[906] As such, the production of these paintings was transformational for Namarari: the act of painting aligned with an inner state and within that state he successfully produced his *Tjunginpa* paintings, a kind of intra-personal symbiosis. It may be that Namarari's yearning was for solitude itself and in PTA's painting shed he found the portal to escape the everyday. In his old age painting may have been one of the few activities where Namarari did as he pleased.

Namarari used a meditative approach to painting rather than any flamboyance or casually distracted manner. The image of him painting alone, uninterrupted and quietly singing, readily admits to a kind of meditation, a time to retreat within to his own memories of people, travel and country, enjoined through the rhythm of painting. Through the multiple lenses of formal analysis, oral history and film the questions I have come to ponder are these: through the act of painting was Namarari aligning himself internally to his *ngurra* in the desert world, or to the metaphysical *tjukurrpa* realm in the invisible beyond? And for Namarari, were those experiences the deepest feelings of self, if not self-satisfaction, he could attain?

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[906] Sweeney, Eager and Hodges each describe Namarari this way.

5 A big mob of Dreamings

The penultimate painting story [PS#19] concerns an incomplete *Tjunginpa* canvas (MN9807159, see Fig. 34). It is not surprising that in the last year of Namarari's life the only times he strayed from the *Tjunginpa* series was to paint two sites close to him, Marnpi (MN9804144 and MN980720) and Nyunman (MN9804192).[907] It is also not surprising that what proved to be the Namarari's final - and unfinished - canvas remains partly covered in orange dots, identifiable now as an unmistakable signature.[908] It was not Namarari's choice to depart Kintore that cold July day as a patient on the Flying Doctor aircraft to Alice Springs. We might now claim that Namarari was carrying with him a lifetime of memories and cultural knowledge. This unfinished painting is part of his legacy.

Figure 34 (MN9807159, unfinished) See Painting story #19

Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa and I sat together on the ground and chatted about her family.[909] We looked at photographs of people and paintings in Vivien Johnson's 'Lives of Papunya Tula artists', resting in front of us on the old mattress she was sitting on, at the Warlpiri Camp in Alice Springs. Fabrianne, who grew up in Papunya and Mt Liebig, turned the pages of the book to Namarari's entry, to a picture of him sitting on the ground (2008, p. 40), and a photograph of

[907] A further Tjunginpa style painting (MN980517) shows Marnpi as the site in the field note; this seems unusual.
[908] Viewed by the author at PTA's office, Alice Springs, October 2012.
[909] Daphne Williams introduced me to Fabrianne in late 2008 in Alice Springs.

him in his hat and jacket (2008, p. 41). She was very tender in resting her fingertips on the photograph of her grandfather, slowly stroking it, becoming pensive and reflective. Her smile and bright eyes expressed more than her words, remembering her grandfather and their friendship. When she recalled the name he called her (*kapali* is granddaughter in Pintupi Luritja), she was obviously very proud and her face lit up.

Interview extract 5a

Extract from interview with Fabrianne Peterson Nampitjinpa, where she is looking at photographs of Namarari, her grandfather:

Alec

Did he wear his coat and his hat everyday?

Fabrianne

Yeah specially when it's cold time he likes wearing jacket, coat, heavy coat.

Alec

When I talk to people about tjilpi they say 'he's very quiet'.

Fabrianne

Yeah he's quiet, quiet one. He likes his painting, really, like he really likes his painting. Always works, doing painting. Yeah. Even when he's in town, he used to do painting. He used to call me kapali.

Alec

Kapali?

Fabrianne

Kapali! Granddaughter. Yeah. I remember he used to say to me 'kapali!' He used to tell me 'kapali'!

(End of extract)

Fabrianne continued looking at the open book, stroking Namarari's face in the photograph with her fingertips, and then stared into the distance for some time, not speaking.

Namarari had realised as his health deteriorated that his work needed to continue for the wellbeing of his family. Elizabeth recalls her husband's encouragement:[910]

> Yeah and from that time I remember because from that time he was saying 'some time when I'm sick you should learn how to do canvas, when I'm gone you can look after kids, when you're doing canvas' [...] Yeah, that time I thought 'oh that tjilpi told me to start work', then I start to work here, little bit, little bit then keep going [...] Today I'm still an artist.

Elizabeth and I sat together in front of her house at Kintore (she on a chair, me on the ground, each of us comfortable) on a bright August morning in 2011. We began talking about her husband's final trip into Alice Springs. It might have been then or another time close by that Angelina (Namarari and Elizabeth's daughter) gave birth to her first baby, in Alice Springs.

Interview extract 5b

Extract from interview with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra:[911]

Elizabeth

... and that time when he got sick he did a big canvas [at Kintore] *and yeah before he passed away he leave the canvas and went to hospital.*

Alec

So he went to the hospital in Alice Springs did he? What made him sick, where was he sick?

Elizabeth

Kidney [unclear]

Alec

[910] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.
[911] Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.

Oh really kidney problem, but he didn't go for dialysis did he?

Elizabeth

Nuh, not that time

Alec

And did he like to go to Alice Springs?

Elizabeth

No, he didn't want to leave us family behind, crying for Farren, when Farren was little boy, he would cry when he was sick, cry for Farren. Farren wanted to stay with him all the time. 'I want Farren, stop with me'; 'No you can't take him, you want to go to hospital'.

(End of extract)

Marlene Nampitjinpa first saw Namarari and Elizabeth at Papunya in the 1970s and later saw 'that old man painting here' at Kintore.[912] She recalled 'whitefellas used to take him, look around country and he tell them about country, that side [east side of Kintore]. I seen him when I was working in the Clinic, helping whitefellas, tell them about stories, place to place'. Marlene said 'Later on he was a sick old man and we sent him in a plane that time, from here, on the plane'. Namarari became an unwilling passenger on the Flying Doctor service to Alice Springs, a unique Australian outback service that responds to emergencies.[913]

Namarari was taken to the Alice Springs Hospital. He was visited by Georges Petitjean, a research student studying Western Desert art who befriended Turkey Tolson and Namarari in the mid 1990s. Petitjean said Namarari sometimes referred to himself as 'a number one artist'.[914] Petitjean recalled his visit to see Namarari:[915]

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[912] Marlene Nampitjinpa, interview with author, August 9, 2011, Kintore. She currently works at the Clinic .

[913] Paul Sweeney recalled this flight leaving Kintore, possibly around late July 1998. Conversation with author, PTA office, Alice Springs, Friday October 26, 2012.

[914] Georges Petitjean, correspondence to author, September 10, 2010.

[915] Petitjean, 2000, p. 46. This anecdote confirmed by Petitjean to author, August 2, 2010, Australian National University, Canberra. Petitjean believed that Namarari 'knew he was going to die'.

> When I entered the four-bed ward, he sat immovable and upright on his bed looking out the window. This time he had a view of the gap and the MacDonnell Ranges. He still wore his clothes despite the fact he had been admitted to hospital the day before. The nurse told me they did not want to upset him by taking his clothes off, nor would they cut his nails. On seeing me he kept saying "Kintore, Kintore", indicating his strong desire to return to his community. He wanted me to drive him back, but he had to stay several more days.

Namarari was transferred from the hospital to the Hetti Perkins Hostel when it was located on 'the east side'.[916] The medicos said Namarari needed dialysis treatment but 'he didn't want to go onto it'.[917] Being a dialysis patient meant virtual confinement to town, a different pain to kidney disease itself. The old men had an intense separation anxiety for their *ngurra*: living away from country was distressful but the prospect of dying away from country was a double misery. Namarari's final wish, to once again breathe Kintore's air, was not granted.

Interview extract 5c

Extract from interview with Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra:[918]

Elizabeth

When he was in hospital my little grandson was born, that time when he was in hospital. Yeah we took the baby there, showed him 'here's your grandson'. Then he's lying in bed, crying again, starting to cry.

Alec

Oh really, but this time he was crying for happy.

Elizabeth

Yeah happy for when he was born, my little grandson, he's a big boy now.

Alec

So Jared was the first grandson for tjilpi, so he's crying in hospital for the baby.

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916 Daphne Williams, telephone conversation with author, August 18, 2011.

917 Daphne Williams, discussion with author, November 18, 2008, Alice Springs.

918 Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, interview with author, August 1, 2011, Kintore.

Elizabeth

Mm

Alec

Oh well he must have been happy inside cos he can see that baby.

Elizabeth

Inside yeah, 'I got new grandson'.

Alec

Yep. Did he stay in hospital or come home to Kintore?

Elizabeth

No, hospital, then they put him in Hetti Perkins hostel, from there he bin passed away.

Alec

Passed away, yeah, just got too sick too old.

Elizabeth

Too old.

Alec

And Elizabeth after he passed away, Alice Springs that hostel, then is there a funeral?

Elizabeth

Yeah, here, family brought him out here, we buried him here.
(End of extract)

This was the only time I discussed this subject with Elizabeth since meeting her four years ago. I resisted leading the discussion into details of the funeral or family members' responses to Namarari's death, as I felt that level of intimacy was beyond my existing role as a researcher, and our interview time on this occasion was coming to an end. Elizabeth's descriptions of Namarari and the children were lucid enough to appreciate in equal measure his anguish and his joy. Namarari passed away in Alice Springs on August 16th, 1998.

Keith Butler Tjungurrayi and I first met in 2010. We sat on a dusty cement verandah at Papunya on a mild autumn day and talked about Namarari, the man who adopted Keith in the early 1960s ('he grew me up'). Keith was a stockman just like his father and now – Keith told me with a wide grin - his own son's nickname was *kalipapu.* We conversed amiably for nearly two hours, he in his weathered hat and me with a notebook and pen. I took copious notes and Keith rolled a few cigarettes. The only interruption was to chat with a cheerful Aboriginal woman who ambled past, pausing to tell us about her grandmother and how she was working on the family tree.

Keith and I came to discussing Namarari's passing and his funeral at Kintore, back in 1998.[919] Keith said, 'all the people were there from Kintore and there were people from other places and there was family people and there was other people'. He said a lot of people there had a common desire: 'we were going to put him on his own country but too far out'. There was some discussion about trying to bury Namarari at Nyunman 'on his own country' but it was 'too far to go and too difficult with the coffin' and so 'he was buried at Kintore'. Country can be so near and so far.

Our conversation slowed, making way for longer silences, waiting for more words to arrive. Keith's gaze drifted across the empty street behind me. 'Tjilpi was too old', he said softly, before fixing on my eyes and adding assuredly, 'he had a big mob of dreamings in his head'.

*

> At the end of all the labour of reconstruction and representation, the biographer is left looking at the receding view of the person they have been obsessed with, moving away from them into the silence of the past (Lee, 2009, p. 139).

*

[919] Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, interview with author, April 30, 2010, Papunya.

Kintore's cemetery is located alongside the gravel road to the near north of the community. I stopped by at the conclusion of one of my field trips. Among the many graves and crosses was a small white headstone bearing the words 'Mick Tjapaltjarri', hand-painted, in dark lettering.

I stayed quietly for a time before returning to the driver's seat of my comfortable Toyota, then cruised up to the nearby T-junction, the start of my 515 km journey back to Alice Springs. Turning eastwards into the morning sun, I raised the dust through Sandy Blight Junction (the turn-off to outstations at Ngutjul, Yuwalki and Nyunman) before pushing onwards past the Ehrenberg Ranges and Ilpilli, the towering peak of Mt Liebig, the broken windmill at Yayayi, listless Papunya and finally onto the bitumen and into Alice Springs, where I would call in to see PTA's staff before flying home to Sydney. I reflected on the life of Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri, a man who is remembered with deep affection by many people who knew him. One wonders whether he knew just how much he was appreciated.

*

Conclusion

This thesis is a chronological account of Namarari's life story, engaging with various themes outlined in the Introduction. As much as possible I have tried to 'get on with the story' (Dening, 2007). Namarari's journey mirrored that of other Pintupi people born in the early to mid twentieth century: departure from traditional homelands into an unfamiliar cross-cultural world and the eventual longed-for return to their traditional lands. Namarari survived the vicissitudes of desert life and the unpredictability of the frontier and the colonial encounter - substantial achievements in themselves. His life story illustrates a quiet determination to honour his culture's primary values. It seems he decided to help the recently arrived white people to understand something of himself and his worldview, and the public recognition he has achieved as an artist complements the less visible role he played as a quiet cross-cultural educator. Namarari has been presented in this account as a child, son, stockman, *wati,* husband, father, brother, uncle, labourer, teacher, friend, traveller, storyteller, artist and *tjilpi.*

Namarari's biography matters for four reasons. Firstly, it places a considered account of his life story onto the public record. Secondly, it illuminates the engagement of the Pintupi people with colonisation in the twentieth century. Thirdly, it traces the relationship between the Papunya Tula Artists organisation's staff and one of its most accomplished practitioners. And finally, its outcomes demonstrate the value of a multi-disciplinary approach as a means of researching and writing an Indigenous artist's biography, particularly where the subject and author are not known to each other. Additionally, the research process itself presented opportunities to review extant literature, documents and archives, and identify possible inaccuracies and thereby marginally improve the quality of the public record.

The lack of research regarding Australian Indigenous artists' biography and autobiography suggests that there is considerable scope for scholarly attention in this emergent field. The cross-cultural biographer's journey, in my experience, is full of challenges and opportunities, not the least of which surrounds the interpretation of an Indigenous person's life by a non-Indigenous person. The reality of difference in language, culture and personal circumstances raises a fear in the author of 'getting it wrong' (ethically and factually), whereas a growing admiration of the subject raises the spectre of hagiography. Much of what is learned does not find its way onto the page and many of the researcher's fleeting exchanges in fieldwork are treasured memories for life. The generosity shown towards this project was, I surmise, a reflection of the admiration that people felt

for Namarari. Nonetheless, biographical research opens doors that are unavailable to city-dwellers (like this author) who otherwise rely on libraries, galleries and perhaps tourism adventures to satiate their curiosity about those people so far away in the desert, though they are not far away, they are right at home.

The research approach has demonstrated the value of underpinning a biographical portrait with an appreciation of Namarari's cultural background, encompassed in the concepts of *walytja, ngurra* and *tjukurrpa*, which facilitated my cross-cultural comprehension of his identity, behaviour and art. The exploration of Namarari's character and art practice revealed a multi-facetted man who appears to have been guided by a personal logic rather than being so enigmatic. However, in returning to Monk's and Holmes' doubts about knowing the inner life of another, it is the case here that Namarari's inner world remains mostly obscure: his hopes, fears, dreams and aspirations are difficult to discern directly at any point. He was generally perceived as shy or softly spoken, considerate and caring, timid initially and then easy to get along with, and not gregarious. He was generous and appreciative of the assistance provided by others. He was not aggressive though his manner should not be mistaken for weakness, and he avoided interpersonal conflict, at least in public. His emotions were generally contained. He had a sense of humour, which was self-deprecating at times. He was watchful of strangers and moved cautiously into new friendships. He was observant and patient and more an opportunist than a planner. He was widely regarded as a family man with a deep fondness for his children. He appreciated recognition for his efforts but did not dwell on praise and resisted the limelight associated with artistic success. In his twilight years he exhibited a preference for solitude and eagerly took up opportunities to spend time at Nyunmanu and Marnpi.

Namarari had fluency in the Pintupi and Luritja and was at least familiar with the Pitjantjatjarra, Aranda and Warlpiri languages. His limited English vocabulary was insufficient for complex conversations but useful for everyday interactions with English speakers. He learned to befriend white people in settings such as stockwork, labouring and painting, and responded positively in later life to those who expressed an interest in his life and culture, a practice that may have had its genesis in his childhood or young adult years. Namarari's seniority and cultural status was recognised, though he tended to be an informal leader, preferring the background or letting others speak before him, but not in his stead.

This portrait has largely been assembled through the gaze of non-Indigenous eyes, as the 'inside' life of a ceremonial man eludes the biographer. Namarari's knowledge, skills and self-expression in the men's-only world of ritual interaction remains unknown and the 'reality of his self' (to revisit Lee, 2009, p.

103) remains obscured by the limitations of this research. Perhaps his enigmatic nature lay in that conundrum – a cultural barrier to complete 'understanding'. Similarly, attempting to discern the relationship between one individual and the state has been problematic, but worthwhile. That said, if we understand that aspects of his life were central to his identity yet private in nature, we may understand enough. Ultimately, what is the purpose of understanding? To inform another person that 'we know who you are', or to demonstrate that we can live together with an awareness and appreciation of our commonalities and differences?

Namarari's achievements are considerable, a reflection not simply of his circumstances but of his resourcefulness and endeavour.[920] His early days as a stockman and labourer and concurrently a young *wati* were characterised by enacting the role of student, and it seems he learned well, for in his latter years he was a teacher to many. He contributed to or played an active role in the development of many settlements and outstations, including: the Aboriginal community at Haasts Bluff; the relocation of families (including his close countrymen) to Blackwater, Browns Bore, Alumbara and Mt Liebig; the activities of the Papunya Council; and Kintore including his outstation. He contributed to or played an active role in the development of PTA including its establishment, as a PTA shareholder though not as a Board member, the education of PTA staff on a one-to-one basis, and the raising of PTA's status through his art awards. Namarari contributed to or played an active role in a variety of art and history related projects and exhibitions, including: the documentary films *Mick and the Moon* and *Benny and the Dreamers*; Moyle's music research at Browns Bore; the Papunya Literacy project and Marshall Stoneking's exhibition in Sydney; Tandanya's Papunya Tula art exhibition in Adelaide and Kean's associated research; the NGV's exhibition in Melbourne; Batty's oral history research project; the Kluge Collection anniversary film; and the conservation planning for the Australian Museum's Papunya boards collection. Along the way he earned three significant art awards and was the silent figure in much of Sweeney's footage filmed in PTA's painting shed at Kintore.

Namarari's legacy includes a comprehensive body of art, some 600 paintings for PTA, accompanied by PTA's documentation and now, through this project, a catalogue raisonne (still in process). His enduring working relationship with PTA and his capacity for partnering with staff were central to the advancement of his career. Through PTA's staff and a range of other individuals and organisations, Namarari received the encouragement, respect and marketing support he required, particularly given his isolation, shyness in public and limited

[920] Excluding those in the area of cultural or ceremonial practice which did not form part of my research.

ability with the English language. The dearth of art-focused bilingual speakers (on PTA's staff and elsewhere) possibly explains why much of Namarari's thinking about 'the making of paintings' remained known only to himself. PTA developed into a strong and reliable vehicle for communication between artists and the market, and it shouldered some risks that individual artists normally carry. To some extent Namarari was sheltered by PTA's resourceful umbrella, including the early support of the AAB. Namarari's strategies for engaging with PTA's staff were proactive without being aggressive, and patient without being submissive. Namarari the individual and PTA the organisation became interdependent, supportive, cross-cultural partners. Quite simply, they got on together.

Namarari's paintings and the associated PTA documentation, along with that of the other men in the founding group of artists, are a storehouse of cultural knowledge for his family, the Pintupi people, and the general public. His art contributed to PTA's growing prosperity,[921] whose cycle of wealth production and distribution not only benefits individual artists (as producers and shareholders), but also accumulates to their kin through financing the construction of prominent community facilities visible today at Kintore and Kiwirrkura. The nexus between senior artists, cultural maintenance in a remote community, Aboriginal art centres, community facilities and the market remains a topic worthy of further study.

As an artist Namarari was flexible and adaptive, producing art across a range of styles over a long period of time in a variety of indoor and outdoor settlement and bush studio settings. He painted for a host of reasons: cultural affirmation and knowledge transmission, socialising with his fellows, pleasurable self-expression, making a gift for a friend or an object to trade, supporting himself and teaching his family, escaping everyday pressures and stresses, and persistently asserting the reality of his affiliation with country and countrymen. Whilst his motivations to paint are apparent, I am less certain as to what fuelled his creativity. Namarari's paintings were technically proficient from the outset and he moved with ease from small boards to larger canvases. His creative approach to design and composition and his love of painting manifested in a late career-revitalising vision of his desert surrounds. Though painting essentially the same subjects (Dreaming sites and associated stories), his expressive style invited the viewer to appreciate his late 1980s and 1990s paintings with a greater freedom, and his art was increasingly admired in exhibitions for its originality and aesthetic appeal rather than its ethnographic content. The art market played its role in emphasising that distinction. He took advantage of opportunities to visit Australia's cities and

[921] PTA entered a period of comparative financial success in the late 1990s. (Paul Sweeney, pers comm., June 7, 2013, Alice Springs)

attend exhibitions of his art, witnessing market activity and viewing his (and others') art on display, thereby acquiring some sense of how his paintings were received (and possibly observing how he was being observed by others).

A major retrospective of Namarari's art is warranted. The paintings identified in this thesis are potential inclusions, and - along with companion and contrasting selections - will illustrate the diversity within his oeuvre and his masterly capacity. An artist's biography can serve in the formulation of curatorial objectives and the curatorial process can additionally draw on the catalogue raisonne and the formal analyses. Importantly, Namarari's innovations could be traced and significant paintings that have not been exhibited could be displayed. The opportunity exists for a major art institution to formally present Namarari's art on the world stage.

My research has resulted in a number of tangible outcomes that fill gaps in the archive and provide new resources for other researchers. These include a series of original interviews with Namarari's relatives; a series of original interviews with PTA staff members; a catalogue raisonne of Namarari's art and a table of his annual output with preliminary lists of Namarari's stories and sites; a series of formal analyses of some three dozen paintings; a family tree diagram; and maps of Namarari's travels locally and interstate. I have designed the painting stories to highlight particular aspects of Namarari's art practice and the painting relationships to trace his interactions with PTA staff along his art career pathway. My accounts and analysis of his Tjunginpa works have attempted to 'understand more completely' (revisiting Myers, 2011, p. 40 and Morphy, 2008, p. 185) what the artist Namarari was doing.[922]

The opportunity exists for further biographical research focusing on other PTA artists with whom oral histories were recorded in Pintupi (Myers mid 1970s, Kean 1989, Batty 1992). Those interviews remain, mostly untranslated, in the archives. If this thesis serves to encourage the opening of those archives for the benefit of Pintupi relatives of those men and to interested researchers – biographers, linguists, art curators and social historians, it will have served another worthwhile purpose. Somers' observation that 'the present is always an episode in a much longer story' (2008, p. 10) is pertinent here, for the cross-cultural encounter between the Pintupi people and the nation state of Australia is ongoing. This thesis is a contribution to our conversation.

It is fitting that Namarari might have the final say here, or at least I cautiously offer one of his paintings (introduced earlier, Fig. 6, p. 168) in that spirit

[922] PTA's archive could also reveal which other artists painted the same tjukurrpa as Namarari or the same sites, allowing deeper comparisons to be made based on the artwork.

as the final painting story [PS#20]. I first saw this work on display in the restricted room at the '*Tjukurrtjanu* Origins of Western Desert Art' exhibition in Melbourne in 2011.[923] Here Namarari is illustrating a full-body painted figure, a bearded *wati* wearing his headband and surrounded by his spears, spear-thrower and ritual objects (see Fig. 35). Namarari's painting struck me as a vivid self-portrait, painted in the first year of his long career. I still wonder if it was a powerful declaration:

'I am standing right in front of you, look at me, this is who I am'.

Figure 35 (Ceremonial Medicine story) See painting story #20

[923] I later read Kean's informative short essay on this painting: 'Ceremonial Medicine Story 1971' (Sotheby's Australia, The Anthony & Beverly Knight collection of early Papunya art, May 2013, pp. 10-11).

Appendices

Appendix 1a
Criteria for the examination of an artist's biography

i) the subject's stated intention or objective,
ii) the author/collaborator's stated intention or objective,
iii) the relationship between the subject and the author,
iv) the intended beneficiaries of publication,
v) the recognition or application of cross-cultural protocols,
vi) the use of subject's first language/ English/other languages,
vii) the presence of the subject's voice,
viii) the translations, transcriptions and text checking,
ix) the role of the subject, the author and the editor in the editing process,
x) the presence of the author's voice,
xi) the contribution to the life story compilation by third parties,
xii) the connection between the life story and art/the art career,
xiii) the selection of artworks for inclusion,
xiv) the description and analysis of individual artworks,
xv) the assessment of the art career and/or its significance,
xvi) the projected role of the publication in the local community, marketplace,
xvii) the consideration of audiences' needs or interests.

Criteria i) to iv) broadly relate to intention or purpose; criteria v) to xi) broadly relate to methodology; criteria xii) to xv) broadly relate to visual culture; and, criteria xvi) to xvii) broadly relate to audience and reception. Protocols regards research and writing on Indigenous subjects are available to guide writers, including those of AIATSIS (2000) and The Australia Council for the Arts (2007).

Appendix 1b

Biography research factors: Namarari (subject) & O'Halloran (author)

The subject-author relationship

Author knew the subject personally	No
Author is a relative of the subject	No
Author lived with/travelled with the subject	No
Author represented the subject's art in the market	No
Author commenced the project before the subject died	No

Data collection on the subject's life

Author collected data directly from subject	No
Author relied on data collected from subject by others	Yes
Author collaborated with subject in processing data	No
Subject's data collected in first language	Yes
Author translated subject's first language data	No
Author relied on translations by others	Yes
Subject's first language used in data collection	Yes
Author drew on archives and records	Yes
Author drew on original oral history accounts*	Yes
Author relied on oral history produced by others	Yes

Data collection of the subject's art

Author collected data directly from subject	No
Author relied on data collected from subject by others	Yes
Author collaborated with subject in processing data	No
Subject's data collected in first language	Yes
Subject's data collected in English	Yes
Author translated subject's first language data	No
Author relied on translations by others	Yes
Author collected data observing the artist directly**	No
Author collected data observing the artist indirectly^	Yes
Author collected data from others who observed the artist	Yes
Author collected data from original* analysis of artwork/s	Yes
Author collected data from other's analysis of artwork/s	Yes

* Conducted by the author
** Observation of the artist in the act of painting
^ Films and photographs

Appendix 1c
Research topics derived from Johnson's studies

My analysis of Johnson's accounts of Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri (2004) and Michael Jagamara Nelson (1997) revealed a range of topics to consider for Namarari's biography. Johnson's method relied on her close relationships with the artists. Her description and interpretation of their art emanates directly from close collaboration over many years with Clifford and Michael (and indeed, many of their fellows), and archival records (e.g. Papunya Tula).

a) Johnson's research activities included:
Interviews with the artist to gather information about his paintings and his life,
Interviews conducted in English/Aboriginal English with the artist,
Interviews with others who knew the artist, e.g., PTA staff,
Access to PTA certificates for descriptions/original annotations of his PTA paintings,
Access to Bardon's notes regards paintings he collected from the artist,
Studying the paintings by these and other artists,
Visiting sites with the artist to learn about its tjukurrpa,
Visiting the artist in various locations where he lived and painted, and,
Reference materials regarding the artist and Papunya Tula art.

b) Topics in Johnson's publications regarding the individual's art and career included:
The artist's desire to have their story told publicly,
The artist's desire to have the stories in their paintings recorded and told publicly,
How the individual became an artist and what drew them to painting as work,
The artist's authority to paint,
Understanding and interpreting the paintings,
The artist's provision of explanations of paintings to author and to PTA staff,
The 'explanatory ethnography' of the painting and its narrative and topographical dimensions,
Issues of ethnography and aesthetics,
Relating motifs to narratives of characters and events and the mapping of Dreamings across geography,
Narrative elements and the representation of space,
Innovation by the artist and unique attributes of the artist,
The artist Possum's techniques (e.g. 3-part process of ground, design work and infilling) and dotting, linked dotting, superimposition and overlaying, cutting in, marking out, stripes style,
Perspective (point of view of the viewer),
The use of colour, mixing of colours, meaning of colours to elements of landscape,
Types of brushes,
Rhythm across image and symmetry,
Transition from small to large and very large canvases,
Collaborative painting with family members and instructing family members to paint,
Censorship by the artist,
Motivations of artists to paint, travel, and sell their works,
Demand for art in the market and recognition of the art,
Opportunities for the artists to interact within the marketplace,
Acquisition of art by private individuals, collections and public institutions,
Relationship of the artist to various PT staff and private dealers,
The artist acting as his own agent and selling his paintings directly to customers,
The artist's income,
Travel within and beyond the artist's traditional country, and,
Group and solo exhibitions in Australia and overseas.

Appendix 2 Research participants

Given the nature of this project, contributions were made by numerous individuals.

Appendix 2a Interviews schedule (alphabetical according to first name)

Individual	Date	Place
Alison Multa Napurrula	April 30, 2010	Haasts Bluff
Andy Weislogel	Feb 12, 2009	Ithaca, NY
Angelina Nungurrayi	November 22, 2010	Alice Springs
Anne Brody	May 31, 2010	Perth
Billy Marshal Stoneking	November 6, 2008	Sydney
	May 6, 2011	Sydney
Bob Edwards	March 7, 2008	Sydney
Charlie McMahon	January 8, 2012	Tel (Blue Mntns)
	March 3, 2012	Sydney
Christine Guster	November 17, 2011	Canberra
Christopher Hodges	November 26, 2009	Sydney
Daphne Williams	November 18, 2008	Alice Springs
	August 18, 2011	Tel (Dimboola)
	June 22, 2012	Tel (Dimboola)
David Nash	August 4, 2012	Canberra
Dick Kimber	August 6, 1999	Alice Springs
	December 8, 2001	Alice Springs
	November 22, 2007	Alice Springs
	July 27, 2011	Alice Springs
	December 2, 2011	Alice Springs
Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra	March 16, 2007	Kintore, NT
	November 18, 2008	Alice Springs
	August 1, 2011	Kintore, NT
	May 31, 2013	Kintore, NT
Fabrianne Peterson Tjampitjinpa	November 18, 2008	Alice Springs
Faye Bell	March 24, 2010	Melbourne
Fred Myers	June 11, 2011	Sydney
Geoffrey Bardon	December 13, 1999	Taree, NSW
Gil Grij	November 2, 2009	Alice Springs
Glenis Wilkins	November 6, 2009	Mt Liebig, NT
Gordon Hookey	August 22, 2009	Cairns, Qld
Grant Smith	June 24, 2011	Melbourne
Helene Burns	March 25, 2009	Melbourne
Hetti Perkins	May 6, 2002	Sydney
Hilary Tjapaltjarri	May 5, 2010	Alice Springs
	August 2 & 9, 2011	Kintore, NT
Janet Holt	August 9, 2010	Tel (Melbourne)
	June 24, 2011	Melbourne
Jennifer Joi Field	March 25, 2010	Melbourne
Jenny Taylor	May 5, 2010	Alice Springs
Jeremy Long	July 10, 2007	Sydney
	November 17, 2010	Sydney
Jimmy Brown Tjampitjinpa	August 4, 2011	Kiwirrkura, WA
John Corker	May 18, 2011	Sydney
John Kean	September 14, 1999	Tel (Melbourne)
	March 25, 2009	Melbourne
	May 25, 2010	Tel (Melbourne)
Karin Coldrey	March 24, 2010	Melbourne
Kate Khan	April 23, 2008	Sydney

Keith Butler Tjungurrayi	April 30, 2010	Papunya, NT
Ken Hansen	October 27, 2009	Canyonleigh
Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa	November 7, 2009	Muruntji, NT
	April 29, 2010	Alice Springs
	November 23, 2010	Putarti, NT
	July 29, 2011	Mt Liebig, NT
Marlene Nampitjinpa Spencer	August 9, 2011	Kintore, NT
Marg Bowman	June 17, 2009	Alice Springs
Margo Smith	Feb 14, 2009	Ithaca, NY
Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula	July 3, 2008	Alice Springs
Paul Sweeney	November 3, 2009	Alice Springs
	July 15, 2011	Tel (Alice Sprgs)
Paul Walsh	May 13, 2012	Tel (Melbourne)
Peter Bartlett	November 20, 2008	Alice Springs
Peter Fannin	November 21, 2008	Alice Springs
	September 26, 1999	Tel (Yulara, NT)
Peter Hay	July 18, 2008	Sydney
	November 28, 2008	Sydney
Peter Toyne	June 16, 2009	Alice Springs
Philip Batty	March 25, 2009	Melbourne
	March 24, 2010	Melbourne
Phillip Toyne	June 26, 2009	Canberra
Tim Johnson	March 20, 2009	Sydney
Tommy Conway Tjapangati	August 6, 2011	Ngutjul, NT
Wayne Eager	November 18, 2008	Alice Springs
	May 6, 2010	Alice Springs
	August 1, 2011	Alice Springs
Yami Lester	June 17, 2009	Alice Springs

Note re 'Tel' - for interviews conducted by telephone the location of the interviewee is shown in brackets.

App 2b Author's interviews with PTA staff employed 1972-1998

Geoffrey Bardon	early 1971 – mid 1972 (pre-PTA's establishment)
Peter Fannin	late 1972 – mid 1975
Janet Holt	mid 1975 – mid 1977
Dick Kimber	May 1976 – May 1978
John Kean	mid 1977 – early 1980
Andrew Crocker	1980 – late 1981 (not interviewed)
Daphne Williams	September 1981 – August 1993
Joanne Boniface	August 1993 (3 months)
Paul Walsh	April 1993 – March 1994
Faye Bell	October 1993 – January 1995
Jenny Taylor	late 1994 – late 1996
Daphne Williams	Early 1995 - July 2003
Paul Sweeney	October 1995 – December 1998 and Oct 1999 - present
Wayne Eager	April 1996 – April 2000

i) Employees titles included: art advisor, manager, field worker.
ii) All staff listed here were interviewed by the author, except Crocker (tragically killed in Africa in late 1980s) and Boniface, who was contacted for a brief discussion. Janice Stanton (1987–2000) worked in an administrative capacity and did not carry out fieldwork with the artists. Tim Johnson was also interviewed, having worked as a temporary replacement during Crocker's overseas travel in 1981.
iii) Field workers not interviewed include: for the 1980s, Jeff Hulcombe, Alex Brands and Annette Boyes; and 1990s, Bryce Ponsford and John Pettitt.
iv) Bardon was at Papunya pre-PTA and was not an employee of PTA.
v) Johnson states that Andrew Crocker preferred to describe himself as the 'Company Secretary/Art Supervisor' (2004, p. 124). Johnson (2008, p. 267) states that Stanton left in September 1994 and returned in early 1995 after Williams had rejoined, whereupon Williams stood down and rejoined in September 1997. Taylor left in late 1996, leaving Stanton temporarily on her own.
vi) Janet Wilson later married Donald Holt, owner of Delmore Downs cattle station northeast of Alice Springs, and worked with many of the Aboriginal artists in the nearby Utopia community.

App 2c
Interviews with Namarari, his relatives and Aboriginal individuals

Interviews with Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri were conducted in Pintupi by John Kean (1989),
Philip Batty (1992) and Ken Hansen (1992).

Interviews conducted by the author (relationship to Namarari shown inn brackets): Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra (widow), Angelina Nungurrayi (daughter), Keith Butler Tjungurrayi (adopted son), Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula (nephew), Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa (grandson), Fabrianne Peterson Tjampitjinpa (granddaughter), Tommy Conway Tjapangati (grandson), Hilary Tjapaltjarri (classificatory brother), Alison Multa Napurrula (Haasts Bluff resident), Marlene Nampitjinpa Spencer (Kintore resident), Jimmy Brown Tjampitjinpa (Kiwirrkura resident) and Bobby West Tjupurrula (ex-PTA Chairman).

Appendix 3
Features of Pintupi culture, society and language

A variety of sources bring the Pintupi culture or society into public view. It may be anthropological in nature focusing on the Pintupi people (Myers 1976, 1991)[924] or accounts of Aboriginal people's contact (Pintupi and others) with colonial influences (for example, Amadio & Kimber 1988, Tonkinson 1966 and 2002, Baker 1996, Batty 2006, Brock 2007, Austin-Broos 2009), or linguistic (for example Hansen's Pintupi-English dictionary, 1992). The more idiosyncratic perceptions of individuals who worked with Aboriginal people in Western Desert locations are also informative: a nurse (see Gartrell, 1957), a station manager (see Bowman, 1988), an art teacher (see Bardon, 1991) and a school principal (see Folds, 2001). Each author published accounts of their encounters with Aboriginal people, particularly the Pintupi. Other representations of the Pintupi include documentary film such as Mick *and the Moon* (1979), *The Pintupi the life and fate of a people* (1983) and *Benny and the Dreamers* (1993). Fictional historical texts such as Macleod's *A strong song* (2004), and historical accounts of contact in the Western Desert such as *Cleared out* (Davenport et al, 2005) regarding the Martu people, Long's account of the Pintupi exodus (1989), and histories of the Hermannsburg Mission (Leske 1977 and Henson 1994).

a) Tjukurrpa, walytja, ngurra and related concepts

Myers (1976, 1991) describes the complexity of Pintupi society in relation to the *tjukurrpa,* personal identity, identification with country and ownership, kinship affiliations and rights, and so on, and draws on the work of previous anthropologists such as Nancy Munn.

Tjukurrpa. The originating source of life's knowledge and power for the Pintupi is the *tjukurrpa,* often glossed as Dreaming, Dreamtime or Law in English. It functions as 'a shared, external, and autonomous code: The Dreaming. What they call "the Law" is not something made by humans' (Myers, 1991, p. 125).

Walytja. Simply stated, *walytja* means 'kinship or relatedness' (Myers, 1991, p. 103) and is often glossed as family in English. The concept of *walytja* 'recognizes the relationship of the self to various others', and the Pintupi 'have based their culture on the concept of *walytja* as the dominant symbol of shared identity and mutual support' (Myers, 1991, p. 109). 'Relatedness' has various implications, including that the Pintupi would 'find it unusual that one could be happy sitting alone' (Myers, 1991, p. 111).

Kinship. Myers asserts that the Pintupi kinship classification 'starts from a premise quite different from the European model' (Myers, 1991, 192). The Pintupi have eight subsections in their social system[925], representing the 'most noticeable way in which Pintupi people divide their social universe' (Myers, 1991, pp. 182-4). The system operates as a self-contained whole (everyone is related to everyone). Each individual at birth is allocated to one of eight subsections, which are ordered in relation to each other in terms of expected behaviour. These are (male/female): Tjapaltjarri/Napaltjarri, Tjakamarra/Nakamarra, Tjupurrula/Napurrula, Tjungurrayi/Nungurrayi, Tjapanangka/Napanangka, Tjapangati/Napangati, Tjampitjinpa/Nampitjinpa, Tjangala/Nangala.

[924] Myers offers inter alia an informative guide to Pintupi manhood and although men of Namarari's generation were informants in his 1970s study, Namarari was not a participant.
[925] The concept of the subsection system and the subsection names should never be confused as having any comparability to surnames or family names in European cultures.

This view of kinship is of 'identity with others as part of the self', and 'being a relative is more important than defining what sort of kin one is' (Myers, 1991, p. 107). For the Pintupi there are those who are 'kin, relations or family' and 'those who are not kin' (Myers, 1991, p. 109). Importantly, 'the category *walytja* does not define a closed set of people' (Myers, 1991, p.182). The distinction between close and distant kin 'effectively makes locality another criterion of the kinship system' (Myers, 1991, p. 195) and as well 'individuals come to identify places and ancestors as part of themselves, referring to them in the first person' (Myers, 1991, p. 109).

Kinship system. Though some understanding of the Pintupi kinship system is essential, I am not describing fully its complex nature.[926] Heffernan (2000) and Hansen (1974)[927] wrote useful handbooks to assist newcomers to Western Desert communities. Hansen's Pintupi kinship (1974, pp. 18-21) includes 'brief descriptions of relationship responsibilities' and distinguishes between 'relationship terms' such as Uncle or Father (in anglicised form) and kinship subsections ('skin names') such as Tjapaltjarri and Nakamarra (1974, pp. 1-3). Hansen's text (1974, pp. 4-12) allows a reader to identify the following: (for example for a Tjapaltjarri individual such as Namarari): his marriage partners, avoidance relationships, father/son, brother, brother-in-law, wife's cousin, cousin, nephew, wife's uncle and uncle among all the skin groups.

Autonomy and relatedness. Myers' understanding of a Pintupi individual's concerns for their place in their society involves inter alia satisfying a tension between 'autonomy and relatedness', where the individual ought 'seek to sustain a degree of autonomy within the constraints demanded by relatedness to others' (Myers, 1991, p. 159). That being so, and if 'the cultural formulation maintains that one becomes complete and autonomous only through sustaining relations with others' (Myers, 1991, p. 110), then the alien cross-cultural environment that Namarari entered as a child had the potential to disrupt the development and integrity of his culturally-inspired self or his culturally-derived self-concept.

Initiation. Initiation is the ceremonial transformation of the boy into the man and has a dramatic and permanent impact on a male's self-concept (see Myers, 1991, Ch. 3). A man's concern is 'helping to look after others'. In his interactions with Aboriginal and white people he is expected to be guided by Pintupi notions of 'fair exchange', which Myers emphasises because 'the importance of reciprocity is impossible to overestimate' (Myers, 1976, p. 522). For the Pintupi, 'giving should not be 'only one side', rather it should be 'level', "kuyinkuyi" (square and square), or 'ngaparrku', signifying an equivalent return' (Myers, 1976, p. 521).

Land holding. The Pintupi concept of land holding is derived from the *tjukurrpa* and 'no one person can hold a country by himself, entirely to the exclusion of others' Myers (1991, p. 147). The sites and affiliated Dreaming stories of a male laying claim to 'A' as 'his country' (*ngurra*) may derive broadly from the following conditions: conception at A, conception at place B linked by Dreaming to A, birth at A, initiation at A, parent or grandparent linked to those conditions, residence at A, and death of a close relative at/near A (Myers, 1991, pp. 129-130). Thus, where Namarari claims 'my country' (*ngurra walytja*) it is presumably not 'his and his alone'. There is scope to increase the number of places constituting one's country throughout life, so Namarari's country was not fixed either at birth or by initiation.

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[926] See Heffernan (2000, pp. 157-167) as a useful introduction for a non-Aboriginal person; Myers (1991, pp.180-218) for a more detailed explanation; and the Summer Institute of Linguistics booklet 'Pintupi kinship' (1974) for 'kinship and relationship terminology'.

[927] Myers, Hansen and Heffernan all became Pintupi speakers as a result of their Western Desert engagements.

Society and Law. Myers claims that 'traditional Pintupi society has neither centralization nor formal political structure' (Myers, 1991, p. 103), and the Pintupi 'are not communal. Society is not accomplished through an individual's duty to a corporation of which he or she is a part, but by obligations individuals have to each other' (Myers, 1991, p. 257). The originating source of life's knowledge and power for the Pintupi is the *tjukurrpa* so 'morally binding social consensus cannot be generated by human decision-making [...] consensus is maintained by common adherence to a shared, external, and autonomous code: The Dreaming (Myers, 1991, p. 125).

Self. Myers perception of the Pintupi self 'is not an aggressive, self-contained, egotistic, or entirely autonomous individual. Rather, one must be malleable to others' (Myers, 1991, p. 124). He differentiates personal autonomy which 'seems to be a given in human life' (viz. 'derived from the Dreaming') from comprehension and understanding, which need to be learned (Myers, 1991, p. 107) such that 'satisfactory relations are achieved through activity' (Myers, 1991, p. 111). According to Myers 'an adult Pintupi should be aware of what is happening and who is present. There is constant evaluation of the state of the social and physical world.' (Myers, 1991, p. 108). Kimber believed that the Pintupi people were 'tough like the environment in which they live' and 'they are gentle, having learned they must go with the land, and respect the land, constantly aware of and responding to the immediate conditions'.[928]

Whilst limited details about sites (*ngurra*) and stories (*tjukurrpa*) are often provided by artists to explain their painted images, Pintupi songs mostly remain hidden. In his study of Pintupi music published in 1979, and to which Namarari directly contributed at Browns Bore in the mid 1970s, Moyle wrote:

> For the Pintupi, music and music-making have connotations which cause them to be regarded almost in the same way as material objects. The song series and the ceremonies of which they are a part are held to belong to certain individuals within the community; such people are considered the owners, and the songs and ceremonies are their property (Moyle, (1979, p. 10).

Without exception, Pintupi songs have narrative texts that relate the mythological events associated with particular ancestral beings. According to Moyle 'the Pintupi have no concept of song composition' as 'their song series have always existed in the spirit realm'. This might infer that Namarari's station as a singer and owner of songs may derive from 'the activities of human spirits, (as) the series are 'found' and 'grabbed' (to use the Pintupi term); in such an act of musical discovery, man is merely the recipient' (Moyle, 1979, p. 10).

b) Terminology

The linguist Hansen states that there is no specific word for the traditional European concept of culture. The Pintupi explain the different aspects of their culture by comparing them with European culture. One word that is frequently used in these descriptions is *murrani*, which means 'customarily' or 'the way we do things'.[929]

The issue of the term 'secret/sacred' concerning painting imagery, stories and words: Hansen states that the issue 'still surrounds anything to do with painting or

[928] Collation of author's interviews with Dick Kimber, November 22, 2007, Alice Springs.
[929] Ken Hansen, corres. with author, 14 April 2009.

telling stories about Dreamtime characters. It is also encountered when men and women are describing the stories behind a particular feature in the landscape. All of these features are associated with Dreamtime heroes and their paths through the country. Some of the details of the Dreamtime heroes and features are ok to tell women and children, many of which are sacred to men or women and are not to be talked about with the other group. Even recording words in the dictionary we left out any words which were explicitly associated with sacred descriptions. So with paintings the men will try to avoid putting any explicit sacred symbol in their painting, but will only include the general pattern of the particular Dreaming. In any story they tell about the painting [or] Dreaming they will only mention the details which are generally ok to be known by women and children. They will not want the men's only or women's only details to be written down and dispersed'.[930]

Term in Hansen's dictionary (1992, p. 251) 'secret, *kawali'*: Hansen states that 'the word *kawali* is not particularly secret/sacred terminology. It can be used to describe a situation which is 'covered', or 'hidden', including sacred material. Normally this term may be used to imply that something is not to be spoken of but there is other terminology which would be used to express this taboo. "- which must not be divulged, they are sacred – thus automatically secret, not to be shared". Kawali essentially means covered/hidden/secret'.[931]

Term in Hansen's dictionary (1992, p. 250) 'sacred, *miilmiilpa, miinminpa, miinmilpa*': Hansen states that 'all of these words have the same meaning, but the English use of the term 'sacred' does not cover the same area of meaning of those terms. In English there are things covered by 'sacred' which are not covered in the areas of meaning of the above terms. This is constantly the situation in translating between Pintupi/Luritja and English. Terms may have some overlap of meaning but do not have the same areas of meaning. Miilmiilpa etc. essentially means some object, story, painting which is 'sacred' not to be revealed to women and children'.[932]

[930] Ken Hansen, corres. with author, 14 April 2009.
[931] Ken Hansen, corres. with author, 14 April 2009.
[932] Ken Hansen, corres. with author, 14 April 2009.

Appendix 4
Sources and approvals summary

i) Authorisation
Formal authorisation to conduct the project was provided by PTA's management, including access to its archive[933] and documentation such as field notes and certificates for Namarari paintings, and the Stuart Art centre register.[934] Approval to 'tell Namarari's story' was discussed with Namarari's widow, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, who at the time I understood to be his closest relative.

ii) Field work trips to Central Australia/the Western Desert
Alice Springs and local area: June 14-19, 2009.
Alice Springs and Western Desert art centres plus local sites: Haasts Bluff (and Alalpi area), Papunya, Mt Liebig (and Brown's Bore, Iranytji and Muruntji), Kintore: November 1-12, 2009.
Alice Springs, Glen Helen, Haasts Bluff, Papunya, Hermannsburg: April 27–May 7, 2010.
Alice Springs, Papunya (and Yayayi), Mt Liebig (and Putarti): November 21-30, 2010.
Alice Springs, Papunya, Mt Liebig, Kintore (Putja and Marnpi area, Yuwalki, Nyunman and Ngutjul outstations), Kiwirrkura (and Ngami): July 25 – August 11, 2011
Alice Springs, Haasts Bluff (and Ngankirritji), Kintore May 28–June 8, 2013.

I did preliminary research in Alice Springs on several occasions, including November 20–25, 2007, July 2-5, 2008 and November 19-23, 2008. I also conducted two community oral history projects funded by the NT Government's History Grant, for Kintore (May 28 – June 6, 2013) and Mt Liebig (November 21 - 30, 2010). The resultant interviews were deposited with the NT Archives Service in Darwin. I undertook research trips to meet interviewees, visit archives, or attend conferences and exhibitions, including: Canberra, Melbourne, Cairns, Adelaide, Perth and Ithaca, New York. Additionally, I attended a writing workshop in Alice Springs, October 21-26, 2011 and made an unexpected trip to Mt Liebig in late November 2011 to attend the funeral of Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa.

iii) Interviews protocol
During interviews with Aboriginal informants a protocol was followed. Approval was sought in general terms to talk about people, or to mention the name(s) of people who had passed away. In many instances the informant referred to a deceased individual in a certain manner, thereby setting an example to follow. The same pattern applied to the use of photographs of Namarari and other deceased persons, that is, by checking first. Generally speaking, photographs stimulated conversations and were a positive aid in discussing people, events and relationships.[935] I did not use the names 'Mick' or 'Namarari' in initial interviews with Aboriginal informants. The use of the kinship term 'Tjapaltjarri' in conversations seemed less restricted. I did not seek and was not give a kinship name.

iv) Archives
Access to materials in various museums and gallery archives was granted by the individual institution.

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[933] PTA's archives are housed in its Alice Springs office and the Art Gallery of NSW (which then provided authorisation for access to its holdings).
[934] PTA holds such records for all its artists.
[935] Vivien Johnson's 'Lives of Papunya Tula artists' (2008) is an ideal resource in the field for this reason.

Appendix 5
The Kean and Batty interviews

Kean's and Batty's interviews with Namarari are utilised in this thesis. I therefore interviewed Kean and Batty in my bid to understand the context of their original interviews with Namarari: how they conducted their interviews and the nature of their relationship to the subject. I interviewed Batty in Melbourne on March 24, 2010 and Kean on May 25, 2010. I devised and used a set of 19 prepared questions. The questions are listed here, followed by my summary of Kean's and Batty's responses.

i) The interview questions

1 When and where specifically did the interview take place?
2 What was your main reason for interviewing Namarari?
3 I am using the word 'interview' – is that accurate? Was it a 'discussion' or something else?
4 To what extent did your relationship with Namarari enable the interview to take place?
5 How did he seem to respond to the idea of being interviewed by you at that time?
6 Did you know if anyone else had interviewed him prior to you? Is that of any relevance?
7 How would you describe the atmosphere of the interview?
8 What language/s did he use?
9 What language/s did you use?
10 Were any difficulties experienced by Namarari (from your point of view) in the interview?
11 How did you use the interview after its completion?
12 What information went back to Namarari after the interview?
13 Who handled any translation requirements?
14 How would you describe your role in the interview?
15 In relation to talking with Aboriginal people more generally, do you see oral history as central to understanding their personal life stories?
16 In relation to talking with Aboriginal artists more generally, do you see oral history as central to understanding their art and art career?
17 In relation to talking with Aboriginal artists more generally in Australia, do you agree with this statement: *Life history researchers and art historians, by working together, are the ideal people to create the biography of an Aboriginal artist.* Please explain your response.
18 On reflection, from your point of view, what were Namarari's reasons for participating, or, what was his agenda?
19 On reflection, what are the most important things to have come out from the interview?

ii) Summary of Kean's responses

Kean conducted his audio interview with Namarari on November 17, 1989 at Mt. Liebig. He also interviewed Johnny Warungkula at Mt Liebig and other artists at Kintore. His research was for the 'East to West Land in Papunya Tula painting' exhibition he curated at the Tandanya gallery for the Adelaide Festival in 1990. Kean interviewed Namarari about his life history; he sought his advice on paintings he wished to include in the exhibition; and he discussed numerous photographs of people taken by Tindale in 1932 at Mt Liebig.

Kean had some understanding of Pintupi and could converse to some extent which enabled a limited flowing conversation, a mix of Pintupi-Luritja and Aboriginal English and English. Whilst Kean 'had an agenda' he didn't think Namarari had an

agenda. Kean surmised 'because of the relationship I had with Mick it could be very informal', though Kean 'was asking questions and taking a well-charted course, it was a directed conversation', one in which Namarari 'didn't hesitate' to participate. Kean interpreted Namarari's involvement as 'delayed reciprocity', as 'part of an ongoing relationship' whereby the two men had 'all sorts of exchanges over a number of years'. Kean's relationship with Namarari 'absolutely' enabled the interview to take place:

> I was a good friend of Namarari so it was a part of our friendship. Our relationship in kinship terms is as brothers-in-law so it's a friendly relationship, it's a non-competitive relationship. It's a long time ago but it was very lovely, sitting under a tree in the bush, with a friend I hadn't seen for maybe a year or two, so it was delightful to spend some time with him.

Kean believed that Namarari 'existed well in silence' and was 'not a talkative man', so he was not 'the easiest person to extract information from'. However, their particular relationship of 'just being together was quite a happy state and it wasn't a relationship that necessitated continual conversation'. During the interview Kean saw that Namarari:

> was certainly happy to do it, there was no pressure, I didn't exert any pressure and didn't feel any anxiety from him as I recall. You know we just went out and sat under a tree and I asked the questions and he provided some information.

In addition to Namarari's autobiographical commentary (included in this thesis[936]) they spoke about people, places and paintings. Kean carried a folder of images of Namarari's paintings that he proposed to use in the exhibition. He showed these to Namarari not to get 'some kind of approval, probably just to get an impression' as 'the way of approval these days was just emerging, then and it wasn't so formalised'. Within the interview itself Kean often checks with Namarari if a painting is 'secret/sacred' or suitable for exhibition and Namarari responds accordingly.[937] Namarari's knowledge about the status of paintings is evident and Kean takes note of any restrictions on their public display. Kean also showed Namarari photographs of people from Tindale's 1932 expedition to Mt Liebig and 'Mick remembered those old fellas from the old days'. When Namarari refers to individuals he invariably uses their kinship subsection and their relationship to his family. His knowledge of people and families is evidently considerable and he rarely falters in responding to Kean's questions and photographic prompts.

Kean deposited the audio recordings with the South Australian Museum because 'there aren't a lot of interviews with Papunya artists, particularly the earlier Papunya artists, so it seemed worth lodging them there'. He listened to the audio tape 'a couple of times' when 'writing a small bio for the exhibition catalogue, probably only 300 words, so the level of detail I needed wasn't great'. Kean did the necessary translation himself but did not do a full translation and transcription.[938]

iii) Summary of Batty's responses

Batty conducted his interview at Namarari's outstation on August 18, 1992. Batty video-recorded a series of oral history interviews as part of an AIATSIS-funded project. The videos were deposited with AIATSIS in Canberra. He paid each of the men a fee for their contribution as informants and considers that 'without that money I wouldn't have been able to do any of the interviews'. Batty knew Namarari from Papunya in the late 1970s, which 'absolutely helped' to facilitate the interview. Batty 'didn't really have a particularly sort of a close friendship with

[936] The interview recording has been provided with approval for use in this thesis.
[937] Visible in the interview transcript.
[938] Kean had not returned to the original recording since 1990 when I interviewed him in 2010.

Mick'. Batty had a limited comprehension of Pintupi and did not speak Pintupi. He encouraged Namarari to speak and rarely engaged in conversation.

There were at least three reasons why Batty wanted Namarari as one of his informants: Namarari was one of 'the leading artists' at the time, his style ('a good story-teller') appealed to the oral historian, and he had 'a really good story about when his father got killed'.[939] Batty also discerned among the older men ('like Mick and Benny and Uta Uta') 'a willingness to do interviews', whereas the younger people 'really just weren't interested'.

Batty conducted the interviews with Namarari and others at Kintore, endeavouring to intervene as little as possible within the interview itself:

> I'd ask questions of Mick and the other people I interviewed. But I really encouraged people to just talk, to get into a monologue. Some people had a real talent for that, people like Mick to some extent, when you got him going, and others, they'd rave and rave and rave and rave. So it's a funny thing, it's their ability to speak, or interest or personality that gives you an insight into their life before.

Batty's preoccupation is signalled by the final word of that quote, 'before'. He was interested in the 'olden days' and the 'early days' of the men's lives, around the time of their initial contact with white Australians. Unsurprisingly therefore, Batty did not ask Namarari to speak about his contemporary life and circumstances.

In the interview Namarari spoke in long, unbroken sequences. Batty offers few questions or comments. The duration is over one hour, with Namarari remaining seated (apparently on the floor of the outstation dwelling) the whole time and Batty's camera stationary. Namarari had enough English to understand Batty's questions and the kind of information he wanted and 'he understood that my Pintupi Luritja was pretty bad so we kind of muddled along'. According to Batty, Namarari's level of English in the early nineties at Kintore was comparable to that of the late seventies at Papunya. The interview was conducted in Pintupi and translated by Ken Hansen.[940] Batty says very little in the interview, in contrast to Kean who had enough Pintupi to engage in limited conversation.

In retrospect it is not possible to know whether Namarari saw that interview as an opportunity to leave a record for his younger relatives or whether it was simply another contribution to whitefellas and their desire to 'get history stories'.[941] Batty believes Namarari's motivation mostly related to telling his story though the informant's fee was important. Batty found that:

> older people actually appreciated the fact that you were interested in their life. It's a bit sad really because it means people in their own community weren't that interested. And I actually found that, you ask young people about Mick's life and no one really knows much. I think that money (the informant's fee) was a part of it but not a big part. You know he may have just told me the story anyway, but it certainly helped. I don't think he had any real agenda, I generally think he enjoyed telling the stories.

On the day of the interview Batty drove Namarari to the Kintore store to get 'some food and stuff, Mick would have to take a few things, get a bit of money off me and buy some tobacco for chewing'. Relations between them were 'very cordial, friendly'. Batty insisted on going to the outstation or away from Kintore, because

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[939] Benny Tjapaltjarri advised Batty of that final point at Kintore.

[940] He reported two problems affecting the sound quality: an echo caused by recording in the outstation dwelling and Namarari's hat often partly hiding his face.

[941] Batty reported that neither copies of the original interviews or transcripts have been returned to Namarari or the community. The same applies to Kean's interview of 1989.

with too many distractions it was 'just impossible in the settlement' to interview someone. As it turned out some family and children came out (to the outstation) which was 'a bad mistake actually because they wanted to go, go off after a couple of hours and I wanted to stay'. However 'it worked out'.

Batty's statement 'we did an interview at his outstation' is deceptively simple. The logistics are considerably more complicated, notwithstanding the travelling required by the researcher from their home city (Melbourne in this case) to Alice Springs, thence by four-wheel drive over 500 kilometres to Kintore, carrying all the requisite equipment and materials. In such isolated circumstances the researcher is entirely self-reliant.[942] This might explain why so few oral history interviews were conducted with Namarari, notwithstanding the prerequisite of having a relationship with him upon which to sit down and ask questions about his life, expecting explanations and answers.

Batty 'sat on [the interview with Namarari] for quite a while', eventually using it to prepare brief biographical segments for an exhibition he curated in 2006, 'Colliding Worlds'.[943] He used the transcript again for an article about Namarari in 2007 for the 'Papunya Painting' catalogue for the National Museum of Australia exhibition (see Johnson, 2007).

[942] Batty described his role at Kintore as 'the producer, director, editor, interviewer, video camera operator, the whole lot, driver, paymaster, cook, tyre repairer, shade provider, water provider, money provider'.

[943] See Colliding Worlds First Contact in the Western Desert 1932-1984.

Appendix 6
PTA Staff Survey

Namarari research project: PTA staff (1972-1998) survey, 2011. Confidential.
Thank you for taking the time to respond to this survey, kind regards, Alec.
Please firstly decide if you wish your responses to remain anonymous:
Yes, I wish to remain anonymous
in which case ignore the questions that would identify you: questions 1 and 2.
If you wish to do the survey by telephone I will record your responses for you-
If so, call me on [...] and we will make a set time to do the survey by phone.
Otherwise, please now write your responses here and post to me at the above address.

1 Employment with PTA:
I was employed in the position of (title) for the duration of (from) (til)

2 Before joining PTA, what experiences/employment did you have that related to the job:
(eg, art-related qualifications(s), experience(s) as an artist, work with Aboriginal groups/organisations, management, administration, marketing etc). Pick 1-3 main ones:

3 The application or relevance of those experiences:
a) Once you 'settled in' to the job, how were any of those above qualifications or experiences relevant to your work with PTA?
b) How were those above qualifications or experiences relevant to your work with Namarari?

4 Did Namarari give you a painting(s) as a gift? If yes, why do you believe he did that?

5 Did you watch Namarari painting?
No One to three times several times many times
If you watched him painting, what do you recall from your observations of his:
a) Techniques or skills
b) Approach or attitude

6 When getting Namarari's completed paintings from him, or at other times:
a) Did you discuss Namarari's painting practice/techniques/attitudes with him?
If yes, in English English/Pintupi Pintupi
b) Did you discuss the painting's content/imagery/composition with him?
If yes, in English English/Pintupi Pintupi
c) Did you discuss Namarari's Tjukurrpa/Dreaming stories with him?
If yes, in English English/Pintupi Pintupi
d) Did you discuss Namarari's sites or 'his country' with him?
If yes, in English English/Pintupi Pintupi

7 In comparing Namarari to the other older men painting at the time, did he seem to be:
Less talkative more talkative about the same as others

8 Looking back, do you think there were significant turning point(s) in his art career?
Yes No
If yes, please list one to three:

9 Looking back, do you think there were significant obstacles in his art career?

Yes No
If yes, please list one to three:

10 Considering Namarari and other Aboriginal people/Aboriginal artists:
a) Which Aboriginal people/artists had the most direct influence on Namarari's development as an artist?
b) Which other Aboriginal people/artists did Namarari most directly influence in their development as an artist?

11 During your time working with PTA, what did Namarari teach you or help you to learn?

12 During your time working with PTA, what did Namarari want from you, what did he want you to provide to him, and, how did he communicate his needs to you?

13 What did Namarari himself do to further his own artistic career?

14 In the event that a major retrospective is mounted of Namarari's PTA art, what suggestions would you want the 'curator/organising committee' to consider in relation to:
a) principles or criteria to guide the overall exhibition presentation:
b) principles or criteria to guide the selection of particular paintings for inclusion:

15 In relation to the large amount of published material about PTA and its artists, do you believe there are significant gaps that are yet to be filled?
No Yes
If yes, could you name one to three of those gaps:

16 What was the importance, relevance or value of Namarari's relationship with PTA in the development of his art and career in your opinion?

17 Taking all your own knowledge and experience into account, how do you now see Namarari's art and career and his legacy?

Please add any comments you may wish to.

Appendix 7
Walytja and kinship

The BAR group systematically created written records including data cards and genealogical charts drawn from their Aboriginal informants, establishing an archive of many individuals and families from that region. Tindale's records suggest that he was adept at collecting and recording information and that the Aborigines were forthcoming with their contributions. The information summarised here is drawn from two of Tindale's records, notably individual's data cards and genealogical sheets. Tindale provided the first written identification of the person Namarari.

i) Namarari's family

Information on the card for Ngamarare[944] (hand-written notes adjacent to typed categories) includes physical (showing thirty-seven physical measurements of his body) and social data. The card states the subject's native name is *Ngamarare*, male, aged *c9*, of the *Pintubi* tribe, born at *Manbi S of Ilbilla*, in the subclass *Purungu (Tapaltjari)*, with the totem *mallu* and *takanba*. His father's name is *Takantjukurupa* and mother's name is *Meiyenu.* Takantjukurupa is also Pintubi, subclass of *Tararo*, born at *Manbi* and died at *Manbi*,[945] with the totem *Takanba animal in sandhills*. Meiyenu is *Pitjintara,* subclass *I'paruka,* born at *Lorongongora,* with the totem marked unknown.

Tindale's genealogical sheets record the following details for his parents.[946] Namarari's father is listed as: *'Takantjukurupa'* skin name *Taroro* (*Tjungarai*), *'husband'*. His subclass 'Taroro' is the equivalent of the contemporary form 'Tjungurrayi'; it is spelled *Tjungarai* on Tindale's sheet. It appears from Tindale's Sheet 2 that Takantjukurupa had relations to the west of Kintore, as one of his parents *Kurutara lives at Wararu* (?) *W of Walangurru* and is listed as the *Wenamba tribe. Takantjukurupa* is listed as *dead* at that time (August 1932). Namarari's mother is listed as: *Maijenu: (c 50yrs.), 1st w of Takantjukurupa, 4th w of MintunMintun, no children by Mintunmintun.* Meijenu's parents are *Tup;'eringa* and *Panpu* (father and mother respectively).

Tindale's record confirms that Namarari's mother Meijenu was already with her second husband, Mintunmintun, by August 1932 at Mt Liebig. She became the wife of Mintunmintun[947] after arriving safely back at Putarti after her husband's death. Mintunmintun became father to Namarari thus Mintunmintun's children become Namarari's siblings. Tindale's note states that *Mintunmintun received Meiyenu because his father was the younger brother of father of Takantjukurupa*, thus he was Namarari's grandfather's brother's son, placing him appropriately in Takantjukurupa's generation. Mintunmintun is also known or became known by the Aboriginal name 'Kamatu', which was corrupted to 'Comet' in English.[948]

According to Tindale's records Namarari had four older sisters, thus he presumably spent some of his childhood years with some of them. They are listed on Tindale's sheet 2 as: firstly *Aniljuru lives long way west in Pankoberi country*, her husband is *Melanka*; secondly *Inganka killed the other day*, (shown to have an infant); thirdly *Kandindangu Purunga age of puberty taken away by someone else living still alive*; and *Ikunga Purunga at puberty*. Namarari gave his sisters names as *Ikuka*

[944] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H23 p2
[945] However, Namarari stated in his interview with Kean that his father died at Alalya.
[946] SA Museum AA346-5-5_01 (sheet 1) and SA Museum AA346-5-5_02 (sheet 2).
[947] Tindale used two versions of this man's name: MintunMintun and Mintunmintun.
[948] Two photographs of Kamutu 'a Pintubi tribal chief' appear in Leske (1977, pp. 33 & 53), the first possibly at Hermannsburg in the 1920s and the latter probably 'out west'.

and *Kurangki* in the Batty interview. Trying to resolve the discrepancies in their names (or the spelling of their names) here is difficult. The name *Ikuka* is certainly close to *Ikunga*. It is possible that Namarari did not know of his eldest sisters, or did not want to speak about them, or, Tindale's record is inaccurate.

There is additional information about the sisters on Tindale's data card for Mintunmintun.[949] The man named *Tulpungunya* was a brother-in-law to Namarari, as he was the husband of Inganka *and* Kandidangu: *he had both sisters*, and *Melanka,* Aniljuru's husband was also a brother-in-law. Tulpungunya is listed as a Tjakamarra man ('Purukulu = Takamara'), the appropriate subsection to marry a Napaltjarri woman. Namarari's sister Ingangka and her husband are noted as *killed the other day 30 miles northwest of Mt Liebig*. This suggests that in a relatively short period of time, four of Namarari's close relatives died (father, grandmother, sister, brother-in-law), including three who were killed. The other sister not killed was probably Kandidangu, a possible explanation being that she was taken as a wife by the killer/s of her husband Tulpungunya ('he had both sisters').

It appears from Tindale's record that none of the sisters are still with the family at Mt. Liebig in August 1932. None are listed as *in camp here* like their mother Meiyenu. This scenario might explain why Namarari refers to his mother and himself *only* in the aftermath of the tragedy at Alalya – all sisters had previously departed the family. Given they are older, this is understandable: they would have gone to their new (or promised) husbands' families, though one (Inganka) was already deceased.

On Tindale's data card for the boy Ngamarare[950] is the following entry: *1 sister Ikunga older young woman now in MacNamara's country Inganka eldest.* The only 'MacNamara's country' located in the region was Bowson's Hole cattle station, adjacent to Tempe Downs station, where Billy McNamara was the manager in the 1920s-30s. However, since a number of records do establish that Ikunga lived at Tempe Downs, she may have already gone there prior to August 1932. This seems to contradict the entry on Mintunmintun's card[951] that records *Ikungga at Wedruka now* which is to the south-west and *a long way past Ilbilla*, though she may have been on her way to Tempe Downs.

ii) Kinship terminology

The subsection or subclass names recorded by Tindale for the Aborigines at Mt Liebig are different to those used today, though there are direct equivalents. He observed that the men of the differing tribes had animated discussions between themselves to translate the skin names being used. It may be that those discussions contributed to the adoption by the Pintupi of new subclass names already in use to their east. Tindale recorded aspects of the 'social organisation' of the Pintupi and compared their 'classification system' with that of the Kukatja/Luritja people, noting on occasion that he 'worked with the natives all day'.[952]

Of relevance here is his identification that the subsection *Purungu* within the *Pintubi tribe* correlated to *Tapaltjari* in the *Kukatja/Luritja tribe.* Ngamarare's data card[953] listed him as subclass *Purungu* whilst Namarari was later identified as an adult by its equivalent, Tjapaltjarri.

Smith offers an explanation, based on Fry's work at Mt Liebig, of the changes

[949] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H11
[950] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H23
[951] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H11
[952] SA Museum AA338-1-8_0028
[953] SA Museum AA346-4-14_H23

made in the early 1930s:

> The contact period accelerated the transmission of new forms of social organization that had been diffusing from northern Australia over the previous century. It was evident to Fry in the BAR party that the Pintupi at Mt Liebig were in the process of adapting their skin names to the subsection system used by their Ngaliya/Warlpiri and Yumu/Kukatja neighbours, just as the Cleland Hills Kukatja had done in the 1890s (Smith, 2005, p. 63).

That being the case, the 1932 scientific party's presence, in attracting so many people from the region, may have been another catalyst in the changes the Pintupi made to their kinship names. As a consequence, the kinship name that Namarari was born with, Purungu, became Tjapaltjarri as an adult. Namarari did not comment on aspects of his kinship name(s) in his interviews with Kean or Batty.

Smith's observation about the contact period implies considerable intermingling, not only were the Pintupi experiencing contact with the new white people from the east, they were interacting with different Aboriginal groups and making adjustments as a consequence of various inter-cultural engagements.[954] This appears to be the case for those Pintupi who walked into the nascent multi-cultural environment of Putarti-Iranytji-Mt Liebig (in the early 1930s) and more particularly the Haasts Bluff region (1930s-40s). Alternatively, it might be that Aboriginal peoples have forever been engaged in changes that remain invisible to those eyes that only arrived in 1788 or thereafter.

[954] I expect this is only applicable to those limited numbers of Pintupi people engaging within the new intercultural environment.

Appendix 8
Namarari's painting output per annum

Year	Provenance	Number	Comment
1971-72	Stuart Art Centre	79	incomplete records
1972	Interregnum	24	incomplete record, include two joint works
	Sub-total	103	
1973	Begin of PTA	16	exclude painted wooden objects
1974	PTA	12	incomplete records
1975	PTA	6	possibly incomplete
1976	PTA	11	one likely discrepancy
1977	PTA	10	one likely discrepancy
1978	PTA	8	numbering confusion
1979	PTA	22	numbering confusion
1980	PTA	12	one likely discrepancy
1981	PTA	8	incomplete records
1982	PTA	24	confusion in records
1983	PTA	18	include two joint works
1984	PTA	10	
1985	PTA	11	
1986	PTA	18	one possible discrepancy
1987	PTA	18	one possible discrepancy
1988	PTA	29	one possible discrepancy
1989	PTA	13	
1990	PTA	32	
1991	PTA	16	
1992	PTA	26	
1993	PTA	34	
1994	PTA	71	one possible discrepancy
1995	PTA	62	
1996	PTA	50	
1997	PTA	32	
1998	PTA	14	excludes final incomplete work
	Sub-total	583	
Total		**686**	

Appendix 9a
Sources regarding sites

i) PTA's original field notes and published certificates
Bardon began a practice of producing a written record for each painting during 1971-72 at Papunya using information gathered from the artist, often through a bilingual intermediary. The oral description was annotated as text and a drawing and (usually) each painting was given a number and often a title.[955] Peter Fannin refined the system by assigning each painting a unique number to identify its month and year of production. For example, the painting 'MN731154' is by Mick Namarari (MN) from 1973 (73) in the month of November (11) and assigned '54' of the works catalogued that month. PTA has consistently used that numbering system ever since.

ii) Interviews or discussions with individuals in relation to one or more sites
Leo Peterson Tjampitjinpa, Hilary Tjapaltjarri, Marlene Nampitjinpa Spencer, Tommy Conway Tjapangati, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, Ray James Tjangala, Morris Gibson Tjapaltjarri, Kenny Lillias Tjampitjinpa, Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, Keith Butler Tjungurrayi, Alison Multa Napurrula, Dick Kimber, John Kean, Charlie McMahon, Fred Myers, Philip Batty, Paul Sweeney, Peter Bartlett.

iii) References
Acer Vaughan Consulting Engineers, *Regional profile incorporating outstations in the vicinity of Papunya, Mount Liebig, and Kintore,* (Report for the) Department of Lands and Housing, Alice Springs, 1982.
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Smith, MA 2005, Peopling the Cleland Hills. Aboriginal history in western Central Australia 1850-1980, *Aboriginal History Monograph 12*, Aboriginal History Inc., Australian National University, Canberra.

iv) Maps
Bowman & Scherer 1948 (viewed at Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 2009).
Aboriginal Central Australia, prepared for TGH Strehlow's Songs of Central Australia, Angus & Robertson, Sydney (viewed at Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 2009).
Henbury, SG53-01, ed 3, geocat 45309, National Mapping Division, Geoscience Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2004.
Hermannsburg, SF53-13, ed 3, geocat 45219, National Mapping Division, Geoscience Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2004.
Mt Liebig, SF52-16, ed 2, map 02/069, National Mapping Division, Geoscience Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2003.
Mt Rennie, SF52-15, ed 2, map 02/053, National Mapping Division, Geoscience Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2003.

[955] Many paintings produced in 1971-72 were consigned to the Stuart Art Centre with a unique consignment number. I used the Stuart Art Centre ledger to identify Namarari's works.

Appendix 9b
Sites list with alternate spellings

All site names here taken from PTA field notes or certificates for Namarari's paintings.

Ankutu (Alkutu, Ankutju, Ankurtunga, Angkulu)
Alala (Alalanya)
Ilkipyi
Itjinpiri
Ipanya
Ipalu*
Intajirri
Kaakakululli
Karnka
Karradingi
Karkuratintja (L. MacDonald)
Kinti
Kiyalpa
Kungkayunti (Kungka-yunti)
Kultarra
Kutju (Marakutjul)
Walungurru (Kintore)
Lingakurra (Linga kuran, Linga goora dana, Lingawarra)
Mamupuyuntu)Mamapuyunpa)
Mananga
Marnpi (Marpinya, Manpinga, Manpi, Munbi, Malpi)
Matingka
Marturtinga (Martuunga)
Mintjilpirri (Nyintjilpri, Myinytyilpri, Michibirri, Michilberry, Mitjopirri, Mudberri)
Mitukatjarri (Mitukatjurri, Mitukatjirri, Mitakutjurri, Mitukarri, Mitukatjirnga, Metucatjeri)
Miikulong
Mingatjurru* (Minga Tjurru)
Minkawarli
Muruntji (Marantji, Murrintje)
Muyin (Muyinga)
Mulpul (Mulpingya)
Ngalngangka
Ngurnga
Myarkulnga (Narrkulynga)
Ngatuti (Ngatjuti,Nartoodi, Nartoodinya, Natuti, Ngarkuti, Ngatutinya)
Ngutjul (Ngutjulnya, Nyutchulnga)
Nyana nyana*
Nyunmanu (Nyunmanya, Nyunman, Yunmanu, Newman, Mt Newman)
Palpa
Panawan (Panawanga, Panmanya)
Piltarti (Piltartinya, Piltati)
Pinpirnya
Pintarralnga (Pinkalnga, Pinturalynga, Pinteramga, Pintiangnga, Pintyalpa, Pintjalnga, Pintjurralpa, Pitjalka)
Punpunpa (Punungya)
Purritjara
Putja (Putjanya)
Talkira
Takulpa (Tukunpa, Tarkinpara, Tarkarnpa)

Tjalpiatjarra
Tjilkanya
Tjiterulpa (Tjiterunga)
Tjukula (Tjukalla)
Tjunginpa (Tjuninga, Tjungepa, Tjungilpa)
Tjuntu
Tjurpungkunytjanya
Tjuturanu (Tjukiyanu)
Tjowtja*
Ticka-ticka*
Tjutinga (Tjutjanu, Tjutti Aneku, Tjutti Anennya, Tjutiyannu)
Wallakirritji (Walungurru creek Kirintji)
Walmulla*
Walpa*
Warrupuyu
Watukarri (Watukarrinya, Watukurri, Watucutti, Watokari, Watukali, Wati Karri)
Watulpanya
Wiyawiya (Wuyuwuyu)
Wongati
Unkuldu
Yankuntjana (Yankuntja, Angkuntjinna, Arkuntja, Alkuntja)
Yurrumanu
Yuwalki (Ualki)
Browns Bore
Desert bore
White bore

Total = 74
* Further research to determine if these are actually site names.

Appendix 9c
Sites connecting Namarari and his family

The PTA field notes include references attributed to Namarari by PTA staff that connect places to himself, his mother or father, or parents and grandparents.[956] Those notes, identified here by their PTA number, suggest the following connections and affiliations.

i) Namarari's birthplace
Field notes state that Namarari's birthplace is Marnpi:

MN980419 mistakenly states it is Nyuman,
MN880919 mistakenly states Marnpi is north of Kintore,
MN8810116 states that 'Manpi' is in the Gibson Desert,
MN920353 adds that Namarari's 'mother and grandfathers' lived at Marnpi.

ii) Namarari's father's country
References by Namarari to his father's country include:

MN871140 Pinpirnya, northwest of Kintore,
MN900558, MN920110, MN960793 Marnpi,
MN911135 Putjana, west of Kalipinypa,
MN920110 Marnpi, belonged to Mick's father,
MN940549 Putja, father's birthplace, [author's note: I suspect this is confused with Kutju]
MN931038 Kutju, north of Kintore,
MN940230 Tjalpiatjarra.

References by Namarari to his father's Dreaming include:

MN920535 Wolpa, story about father's dreaming,
MN940619 Marakutjul, Bandicoot Dreaming,
MN950677 Tarkinpara, west of Wilkinkara, father's dreaming story,
MN950740 Tarkarnpa, north of Kintore, father's dreaming.

In restating Namarari's father's name, Takantjukurrpa (recorded by Tindale at Mt Liebig in 1932), the site names Tarkinpara and Tarkarnpa have a similar root. The Bandicoot Dreaming is also associated with Kutju, which I suspect is the correct site name for MN940619 (not Marakutjul). There is some confusion concerning the site Putja, which is southeast of Kintore not west of Kalipinypa or northwest of Kintore, caused I believe by the mis-hearing of 'Kutju' as 'Putja'. I therefore suspect that Kutju may be his father's birthplace not Putja.

iii) Namarari's mother's country
References by Namarari to his mother's country include:

MN920934, MN950812 Watukarri is mother's country,
MN920735 refers to 'Nyunman mother's country'.
MN951056 Alkuntja is mother's country,
MN950939 Kultarra, Kungka Kutjarra, mother's dreaming.

[956] Extracts of references to sites and Dreaming stories for Namarari and his family suggest that PTA field notes are a valuable source of information, though inaccuracies may require clarification for the finalisation of Namarari's catalogue raisonne beyond the time frame of this project. It is probable this would require considerable fieldwork (involving expertise, expense and time) with Pintupi people, utilising appropriate bilingual personnel in a collaborative project with PTA's staff and Namarari's relatives and kin affiliates.

iv) General

MN920353 Namarari's 'mother and grandfathers' lived at Marnpi.
MN960605 Mulpingya, his parents lived at this site,
MN950217 Muruntji 'in the old days people lived there, no clothes, Mick's mother lived there and Mick with her, when he was a little kid'.[957]
MN841132 Munpi is where 'the artist's parents passed away'.[958]

Namarari's first marriage to Wingulya Nakamarra linked Namarari to country west of Kintore. Such linkages may connect to or add to the sites and stories that Namarari painted as an adult, though no references to 'his wife's country' were found in the catalogue raisonne research. Neither Murphy Roberts Tjupurrula, Fabrianne Peterson or her brother Leo Peterson identified particular sites as Wingulya's *ngurra*.[959] Namarari's second wife, Elizabeth Marks Nakamarra, identified her affiliation with the site Kalipinypa through her father's side and his brother Johnny Warungkula.

Namarari's classificatory brother, Hilary Tjapaltjarri, said his own country was 'Mintjilpirri, Ankutu and Ngatuti' and added that Namarari's country was 'Marnpi, Nyunman and Watukarri'. He then described the approximate locations of those sites to the southeast of Kintore.[960]

[957] Muruntji is not far from Alalya (the location of Namarari's father's death) and the reliable spring at Putarti
[958] I take this to be incorrect as it does not match with Namarari's assertions with Kean and Batty.
[959] Interviews with author.
[960] Hilary Tjapaltjarri, interview with author, April 28, 2010, Alice Springs.

Appendix 10a
Stories in Namarari's paintings: preliminary and revised

a) Preliminary: the subject matter is glossed here as 'stories' in Namarari's paintings, taken directly from PTA records, even though on many occasions limited details were provided by Namarari about the subjects.

i) Pintupi terms with English equivalent if stated in records:

Malliera	Young men
Wati kutjarra	Two men
Wati tjuta	Many men
Kungka kutjarra	Two women
Kungka tjuta	Many women
Munni munni	Women's game
Kantintjung	Wicked woman
Malu	Kangaroo
Malu kutjarra	Two kangaroos
Tjunginpa	Mouse
Papa	Dingo/mother dingo/puppies/wild dog
Warru	Wallaby/rock wallaby/one wallaby
Takanpa	Bandicoot
Ninnu	Bandicoot
Mingatjura	Bandicoot
Mala	Hare-wallaby/little kangaroo
Kuningka	Native cat
Ngamarra	Mallee fowl
Wanampi	Snake/cheeky snake
Kunia	Snake
Liru	Snake
Rumiya	Goanna/sand goanna
Perentie	Lizard
Tjalapa	Lizard
Inarrka	Spider
Kakalele	Cockatoo
Wayuta	Possum
Lungkata	Blue-tongue lizard
Tjurrhi/thurrpa	Bird
Yarngulie	Flower/bush cherry
Ipalu	Bush banana
Inuntji	Desert flower
Ngumunpurru	Berry
Kampurrapa	Berry
Yala	Yam
Mangata	Quandong fruit
Punkulungu	Giant men
Nyana-nyana	Spirit people
Walpa	Wind
Kinara	Moon
Tingari	(Tingari does not have a simple English equivalent. See Myers, 1991)
3 Tingari men	
Tjungurrayi and Tjapaltjarri (subsection terms)	

ii) No English equivalent given for:

Puya, Kiyurru, Itarootoo, Ittarutju and Tjarriijari.

iii) English terms with Pintupi equivalent not given:

Kangaroo Man Ancestor and Bush tucker Dreaming at Walukiritji
Kangaroo hunt
Fires on Sandridge at Mandi
Corroboree at Tjilka
Camp at Yinana
Spirit people at Tjilka
Mulga seed people
Women's camp
Women dancing
Two men finished hunting
Children
Red lizard
Porcupine
Little night bird
Owl
Emu
Bird
Wildbird
Trapdoor spider
Long-eared bandicoot
Water snake
Bushfoods
Honey ant
Rain
Hailstone
Lightning
Rainbow
Wind/whirlwind
Bushfire
Marriage
Pani coat (author: maybe a mistaken corruption of 'bandicoot')

iv) Pintupi terms without English equivalent (author's additions in brackets):

Yelka (yaalka, wild onion, Hansen dictionary 2011), Karnka (kaanka, crow, Hansen dictionary 2011), Kanyalla (kanyala, euro, wallaroo, Hansen dictionary 2011).

Preliminary: stories in Namarari's paintings, from Bardon (2004)

English titles with Pintupi equivalent not given, primarily of 1971-72 works:

Kangaroo Spirit Dreaming
Wallaby sign for men and women
Wallaby Men's Emu Water Story
Wallaby Dreaming with three caves
Big Cave Dreaming
Children's medicine story
Naughty Boys' Dreaming
Children's 'Chi Chi Tjuckatjuck
Children's Ceremonial Dreaming
Yam Spirit Dreaming for Children
Yam Spirit Ceremonial Man
Ceremonial story
Snake ceremonial story

Ceremonial medicine story
Man ceremonial story
Wild Potato story
Bush Tucker Dreaming Wild Banana
Women Carrying a Nulla Nulla
Sandhill Dreaming
Yam Travelling in the Sandhills
Dingo Dreaming in the Sandhills
Water Dreaming in Sandhills
Men Traveling in Sandhills
Water Dreaming with Sand Mosaic
Figure in a Whirlie
Ceremonial Man in a Whirlie
Moon Dreaming at Tjilka
Rising Sun Chasing the Night Away
Family Moon Dreaming
Porcupine Moon Dreaming
Pinarah Moon Dreaming
Wind Dreaming for Two Brothers

b) Revised: categories of stories in Namarari's paintings, from PTA records

i) Pintupi terms with English equivalent if stated in records:

Men:

Malliera	Young men
Wati kutjarra	Two men
Wati tjuta	Many men

Tingari
3 Tingari men
Tjungurrayi and Tjapaltjarri
Two men finished hunting

Punkulungu	Giant men
Nyana-nyana	Spirit people

Women:

Kungka kutjarra	Two women
Kungka tjuta	Many women
Munni munni	Women's game
Kantintjung	Wicked woman

Women's camp
Women dancing

Animals:

Malu	Kangaroo
Malu kutjarra	Two kangaroos

Kangaroo Man Ancestor and Bush tucker Dreaming at Walukiritji

Kanyalla	euro

Kangaroo hunt

Mala	Hare-wallaby/little kangaroo
Tjunginpa	Mouse
Papa	Dingo/mother dingo/puppies/wild dog
Warru	Wallaby/rock wallaby/one wallaby
Takanpa	Bandicoot
Ninnu	Bandicoot
Mingatjura	Bandicoot
Wayuta	Possum

Kuningka	Native cat
Porcupine	
Honey ant	
Inarrka	Spider
Trapdoor spider	

Reptiles:	
Wanampi	Snake/cheeky snake
Kunia	Snake
Liru	Snake
Rumiya	Goanna/sand goanna
Perentie	Lizard
Tjalapa	Lizard
Lungkata	Blue-tongue lizard
Red lizard	
Water snake	

Birds:	
Ngamarra	Mallee fowl
Tjurrhi/thurrpa	Bird
Karnka	Crow
Kakalele	Cockatoo
Little night bird	
Owl	
Emu	
Bird	
Wildbird	

Foods:	
Yarngulie	Flower/bush cherry
Ipalu	Bush banana
Inuntji	Desert flower
Ngumunpurru	Berry
Kampurrapa	Berry
Yala	Yam
Mangata	Quandong fruit
Yelka	wild onion
Bushfoods	

Natural elements:	
Walpa	Wind
Kinara	Moon
Wind/whirlwind	
Rain	
Hailstone	
Lightning	
Rainbow	
Bushfire	
Fires on Sandridge at Mandi	

Miscellaneous:
Corroboree at Tjilka
Spirit people at Tjilka
Camp at Yinana
Mulga seed people
Children
Marriage

Appendix 10b
Namarari's Kangaroo paintings: *Malu Kutjarra tjukurrpa*

The *Malu Kutjarra* or Two Kangaroo Dreaming is significant across the Western Desert region. It is a men's law story associated with the initiation ceremony. I discussed the sequence of sites in the following list with Namarari's classificatory brother, Hilary Tjapaltjarri (interview with the author, April 28, 2010, Alice Springs).

This list is drawn from PTA and SAC records and still does not allow for an unequivocal identification of all paintings, particularly in the 1970s. If the original PTA field notes states 'wallaby dreaming' it is not included here, though there may be confusion as there are numerous 'wallaby' or 'two wallaby' paintings for the same sites as the Two Kangaroo story. Wallaby in Pintupi is *warru,* which might be confused by some non-Pintupi listeners (for example PTA staff) as *malu.* If the original PTA record states *mala* it is also not included here, unless I am reasonably sure it is the Kangaroo story and not the *mala* story (a different animal). All spellings here of sites as per original PTA record. A question mark '?' indicates it is difficult to confirm a detail in the original records.

Annual output of Kangaroo Dreaming paintings with sub-total in brackets for each year:

1971 and 1972:
Difficult to identify because the Stuart Art Centre records may not indicate story names/sites.

1972 (1)	
19123A	Kangaroo sleeping
1973 (1)	
731102	Kangaroo hunt
1976(1)	
761202	Manpinga
1979 (4)	
790706	Nyintyilpri
790711	Munpi
790819	Malu kutjarra Myintyilpri
79093	Tatupi
1980 (1)	
?	kangaroo Lake Mindierbury
1982 (2)	
820131	Marnpi Michibirri Watukarri
820319	Watucutti Marnpi
1986 (1)	
861021	Marnpi
1987 (5)	
870261	Mintjilpirri
870673	Marnpi
870730	Watukarri Walpa Dreaming and Kangaroo Man
871169	Marnpi

871234	Watukarrinya
1988 (12)	
880225	Marnpi
880268	Pintjurralpa
880315	Marnpi
880340	Pintjalnga
880499	Ngatutinya, from Mintjilpirri thru Marnpi & Ngatutinya to Lingakurra
880786	Ngakuti, travel from Marnpi thru here to Lingakurra
8807152	Mintjilpirri, then travel to Marnpi
880919	Manpi (Malu or Kangaroo Dreaming)
881077	Marnpi
881105	Marnpi
881106	Mintjilpirri
881195	Ngatuti
1989 (3)	
890424	Marnpi
891111	Manpinya (kangaroo/wallaby/bird/tjurrhi)
891201	Manpinya
1990 (3)	
900121	Mintjilpirri
900559	Mintjilpirri
900742	Mintjilpirri (Kangaroo (Malu) Dreaming)
1991 (3)	
910204	Marnpi
910205	Tatupi (kangaroo men camp)
910321	Manpi – Lingakura
1992 (4)	
920353	Marnpi
921011	Marnpi
921105	Minjilpirri
921233	Mintjilpirri (Malu)
1995 (2)	
950418	Marnpi (Marlu ku Dreaming)
950515	Marnpi

Total = 43 (tentative)

Appendix 10c
Namarari's Dingo paintings: *Papa tjukurrpa*
Note: the various spellings of Nyunmanu in PTA field notes are not shown here.

1971 and 1972:
Difficult to identify because the Stuart Art Centre records may not indicate story names/sites.

1974 (2)		
740624	Dingo story	
74075	Flying Dingoes	
1977 (1)		
771166	Papa (Dingo)	
1979 (2)		
790711	Dingoes	Nyunmanu
790830	Dingoes	"
1980 (1)		
1980?	Mother Dingo	"
1981 (1)		
810571	Dingo	"
1982 (2)		
820438	Dingo Dreaming	"
820965	Dingo sleeping	"
1983 (3)		
830916	Puppy dog	"
831124	2 puppy dogs	
831137	2 cheeky puppy dogs	
1984 (5)		
840104	Dingo	
840429	2 Dingo	"
840701	Tjinki-puppy dogs	Metucatjeri
840806	Puppy Dog Dreaming	Nyunmanu
841270	Yimura Dingo	"
1985 (3)		
850314	Dingo	"
851130	Dingo	"
851238	Dingo	"
1986 (3)		
860342	Dingo	"
860440	Dingo	Pintjalna
860950	Dingo	Nyunmanu
1987 (2)		
870106	Puppy Dog Dreamng	Nyunmanu

870378	Dingo	"
1988 (8)		
880141	Dingo Dreaming	"
880452	Dingo	"
880527	Dingo	"
880619	Dingo	"
880746	Dingo	"
881103	Dingo	"
881104	Dingo	"
881235	Dingo	"
1990 (3)		
900661	Wild Dog Dreaming	"
900743	Dingoes	Putjana
901206	Dingo Dreaming	Nyunmanu
1991 (1)		
910572	Dingo	"
1992 (1)		
921156	Dingo	"
1993 (7)		
930236	Dingo Dreaming	"
930538	Dingo Dreaming	"
930630	Dingo Dreaming	"
930942	Dingo Dreaming	"
930944	Dingo Dreaming	Watukari
930954	Dingo Dreaming	Nyunmanu
931272	Two Female Dingoes	Tjuti Anennya
1994 (5)		
940332	Papa Dreaming	Nyunmanu
940435	Dingo Dreaming	"
941040	One Dingo	Watukari
941183	Dingo Dreaming	Nyunmanu
941227	Papaku ngurra	"
1995 (3)		
950213	Dingo	Allala
950618	Papa (Dingo)	Nyunmanu
950643	Papa (Dingo)	"
1996 (3)		
960116	Tingari Dingo	"
960209	Dingo Dreaming	"
960332	Tingari Dingo	"
1997 (1)		
970814	Dog Dreaming	"
1998 (1)		
9804192	Dingo	"

TOTAL = 57 (tentative)

Appendix 11a
Collections holding Namarari's art

National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide.
Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.
Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.
Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane.
Museums & Art Galleries of the Northern Territory, Darwin.
Araluen Art Centre, Alice Springs.
Flinders University Art Museum, Adelaide.
Australian Museum, Sydney.
Berndt Museum, University of Western Australia, Perth.
South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
Artbank, Sydney.
Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, Darwin.
Wollongong City Gallery, Wollongong.
Musee du quai Branly, Paris, France.
Chartwell Collection, Auckland City Gallery, NZ.
Hood Museum of Art, New Hampshire, USA.
Kelton Foundation Collection, Los Angeles, USA.
Kluge Ruhe Aboriginal Art Collection, University of Virginia, Charlotteville, USA.
Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, USA.
Wilkerson Collection, New York, USA.
Janet Holmes à Court Collection, Perth.
Laverty Collection, Sydney.
Gabrielle Pizzi Collection, Melbourne.

Private collections, national and internatonal (various).

Appendix 11b
Namarari's exhibition history

Solo exhibitons

1991 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Melbourne.
1992 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Melbourne.
1993 Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney.
1994 Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney.

Group exhibitions

1975 Barossa Valley, South Australia.
1981 Anvil Art Gallery, Albury, New South Wales.
1981 Australian Gallery Directors Council, Sydney, New South Wales.
1982 Brisbane Festival, Brisbane, Queensland.
1982 Georges Exhibition, Melbourne, Victoria.
1982 Aboriginal Artists Agency Ltd., Sydney, New South Wales.
1983 Sao Paulo Bienal, Sao Paulo, Brazil.
1983 Mori Gallery, Sydney, New South Wales.
1984 'Paintings From The Central Australian Desert', The Mori Gallery, Sydney, New South Wales.
1984 Anvil Art Gallery, Albury, New South Wales.
1984 Chapman Gallery, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
1984 Papunya Tula Artists, Araluen Arts Centre, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
1985 National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria.
1986 National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria.
1986 Roar Studios, Melbourne, Victoria.
1986 Queensland University, Brisbane, Queensland.
1986 Aboriginal Arts Australia, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
1986 Galerie Dusseldorf, Perth, Western Australia.
1987 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Melbourne, Victoria.
1987 Wagga Wagga City Art Gallery, Wagga Wagga, New South Wales.
1988 Queensland Museum, Brisbane, Queensland.
1988 Expo '88, Brisbane, Queensland.
1988 Dreamings, The Art of Aboriginal Australia, Asia Society Galleries, New York, USA.
1988 John Weber Gallery, New York, USA.
1989 National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria.
1989 Centro Cultural Arte Contemporaneo, Mexico City, Mexico.
1990 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Palazzo Bianchi Michiel, Venice, Italy.
1990 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Melbourne, Victoria.
1990 I'Ete Australien a Montpellier, Musee Fabre Galerie Saint Ravy, Montpellier, France.
1990 'Peintres Papunya D'Australie', Paris, France.
1991 Union of Soviet Artists' Gallery, Moscow, Russia.
1991 Marble Hall, St. Petersburg, Russia.
1991 SH Erwin Gallery, Sydney, New South Wales.
1992 Contemporary Art Centre of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australa.
1992 Ballarat Fine Art Gallery, Ballarat, Victoria.
1992 State Ukrinian Museum of Art, Kiev, Ukraine.
1992 State Bylorussian Museum of Modern Art, Minsk, Bylorussia, Latvia.
1992 Museum of Modern Art, kyoto, Japan.
1992 Ballarat Fine Art Gallery, Ballarat, Victoria.
1992 Melbourne Art Fair, Melbourne, Victoria.
1993 Museum of Man, San Diego, California, U.S.A.

1993 Manly Art Gallery & Art Museum, Manly, New South Wales.
1993 Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
1993 Araluen Art Centre, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
1993 Kumstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfallen, Dusseldorf, Germany.
1993 Hayward Gallery, London, United Kingdom.
1993 Chapman Gallery, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
1993 Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
1993 Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Dusseldorf, Germany.
1993 Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humleback, Denmark.
1993 Hayward Gallery, The South Bank Centre, London, United Kingdom.
1993 Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth, Western Australia.
1994 Gallerie Australis, Adelaide, South Australia.
1994 Dreamtime Gallery, Broadbeach, Queensland.
1994 National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Heritage Art Award & exhibition, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
1994 Chapman Gallery, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
1994 Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
1994 Spazio Krizia, Milano, Italy.
1994 Palazzo Butera, Palermo, Italy.
1994 24th Alice Prize, Araluen Art Centre, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
1994 Fondazione Gorrardo, Lugano, Switzerland.
1995 Papunya Tula Artists, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
1995 Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
1996 Papunya Tula Artists, Fringe Festival, Adelaide, South Australia.
1996 Niagara Galleries, Melbourne, Victoria.
1996 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Melbourne, Victoria.
1996 National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
1996 Papunya Tula Artists, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
1996 Sherman Galleries, Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
1996 Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland, New Zealand.
1996 Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, New South Wales.
1996 'Aboriginal Art', Poznan City Gallery, Poland.
1996 Melbourne Art Fair, Melbourne, Victoria.
1997 Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australia.
1997 Papunya Tula Artists, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
1997 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, Melbourne, Victoria.
1997 The Desert Mob Art Show, Araluen Art Centre, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
1997 Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
1997 First International Biennial at the Trevi Art Museum, Trevi, Italy.
1998 'Art Of The Aborigines', Centre for Contemporary Art, Ujazdowski Castle, Warsaw, Poland.
1998 Melbourne Art Fair, Melbourne, Victoria.
1999 'Twenty Five Years And Beyond - Papunya Tula Painting', Flinders University Art Museum, South Australia.
2000 'Aboriginal Art', Aboriginal Art Gallery Bahr, Speyer, Germany.
2000 Biennale of Sydney, Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, New South Wales.
2000 Papunya Tula Genesis and Genius, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, New South Wales.
2001 'Twenty Five Years And Beyond - Papunya Tula Painting', The Araluen Centre, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
2001 'Desert Flowering', Manawatu Art Gallery, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
2001 'Dreamscapes-Contemporary Desert Art', Mostings Hus, Frederiksberg, Denmark.
2001 'Art Aborigene', Musee Olympic, Lausanne, Switzerland.

2001 'Dreamtime-Contemporary Aboriginal Art', Essl Collection, Vienna, Austria.
2001 'Indigenous Highlights from the State Art Collection', Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth, Western Australia.
2001 'Aborigena', Palazzo Bricherasio, Turin, Italy.
2002 'Twenty Five Years And Beyond - Papunya Tula Painting', Academy of the Arts, University of Tasmania, Tasmania.
2002 'Twenty Five Years And Beyond - Papunya Tula Painting', Toowoomba Regional Art Gallery, Queensland.
2002 'Twenty Five Years And Beyond - Papunya Tula Painting', Brisbane City Gallery, Queensland.
2004 'Talking About Abstraction', Ivan Dougherty Gallery, College of Fine Arts, Sydney, New South Wales.
2004 'Looking Closely At Country', Ivan Dougherty Gallery, College of Fine Arts, Sydney, New South Wales.
2004 'Mythology & Reality', Heide Museum of Modern Art, Melbourne, Victoria.
2005 'Aboriginal Vision In Contemporary Australian Art', Wright Exhibition Space, Seattle, Washington, USA.
2006 'Land Marks', National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria.
2008 'Virtuosity: The Evolution of Painting at Papunya Tula,' The Kluge-Ruhe Aboriginal Art Collection of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, USA.
2009 'Icons Of The Desert: Early Aboriginal Paintings From Papunya', Herbert F. Johnson Museum Of Art, Cornell University, New York, USA.
2009 'Icons Of The Desert: Early Aboriginal Paintings From Papunya', Fowler Museum, University of California, Los Angeles, California, USA.
2009 'Icons Of The Desert: Early Aboriginal Paintings From Papunya', Grey Art Gallery, New York University, New York, USA.
2010 'Desert Country', Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australia.
2011 '40 Years of Paunya Tula Artists', Utopia Art Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
2011 'Desert Country', Lawrence Wilson Art Gallery, Perth, Western Australia.
2011 'Desert Country', Mornington Peninsula Regional Art Gallery, Mornington, Victoria.
2011 'Tjukurrtjanu: Origins of Western Desert Art', National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria.
2011 'Desert Country', Perc Tucker Regional Gallery, Townsville, Queensland.
2012 'Desert Country', Newcastle Art Gallery, Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia.
2012 'Desert Country', University of Queensland, Brisbane, Queensland.
2012 'Ancestral Modern' – Australian Aboriginal Art, The Kaplan & Levi Collection, Seattle Art Musuem, Washington, USA.
2012 'Tjukurrtjanu: Origins of Western Desert Art', Musee du Quai Branly, Paris.
2012 'PTA 40th Anniversary Show', Papunya Tula Artists, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
2012 'Unique Perspectives – Papunya Tula Artists And The Alice Springs Community', Araluen Arts Centre, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.
2013 'Desert Country', Riddoch Art Gallery, Mount Gambier, South Australia.

Appendix 12
Revenge killing accounts in Namarari's interview with Batty (1992)

i) Revenge killing account #1

Namarari

There was one old man there too, George.[961] *He used to spear meat and give it to us. He didn't miss kangaroo when he speared. He was almost an old man, but still young. He use to hunt on his own, spear meat and bring it back and give it to us. "I'll spear that one! Look now! ", he said. We heard a bird call, "Eh" There is a bird calling." What was it? You know that bird with the big eyes, a Kuurrkuurrpa. "Kuurrku, Kuurrku" it called like that.* [...] *Yes in the night. "Eh?" my mother said to me, "Look! That bird the Kuurrkuurrpa* is *indicating to us about a warrmala group nearby. There must be warrmala men around on the top of the sandhills."* [...] *Yes a revenge group. You know maybe they were standing there. They were standing there watching. She spoke in vain to them, "Eh! Let's go!" Another said, "No, it is because of the green bushes around that it is calling." My mother spoke to them in vain. They would have all got away at that time.*

They stayed there until the sun got up. We two older boys were playing at throwing spears. We climbed and climbed around the hill. Those revenge party men were almost ready to spear. We climbed around and lots of men came into view. I ran back in fear to my mother and entered the shelter. Too late. One went across there to that old man. The sun was just up over there.[962] *That warrmala party speared him in the back. I feel sorry for him now. I went further back into the shelter, to the back of it. Then another of our group crawled out of the shelter. Then he was speared. I feel sorry when I think about it. They had no pity. They kill our old man. You know that old Bert? They speared his relative.*

Batty

That old Bert is he alive?

Namarari

Pardon?

Batty

Did he die?

Namarari

He passed away at Haasts Bluff, maybe Papunya.

Batty

Was he a revenge party man?

Namarari

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[961] Hansen: apparently George was a white or part white person.
[962] Hansen: this is an implication that the revenge party man came from the direction of the rising sun which would tend to blind the victim to his coming.

No, he was not a whitefella, he was an aboriginal.[963] *Lots of revenge party men speared him to death, it was a group of relatives who did that, they were from Papunya. I feel sorry for him. What was his name? That man was Warungulutu. I feel sorry for him. They pulled the spear out of his chest. I cried and cried. That old woman Kaana went down along the creek. One of them followed her with his spear ready to throw. "Eh! Leave her, she is an old woman. Leave her just an old woman, don't spear her." One of them said that. He left her. She kept calling out, "Doggy! Doggy!" She didn't think about the spears, no. Yes one of them said, "Leave her. That's enough, leave her!" They pulled out, and pulled out and pulled out their spears from the bodies and left them there without burying them. They just left them there. But we took them and buried them, Tjiina group one who helped them was Tjakamarra, my brother in law. His name is Walinykarri, he is still alive. Walinykarri is his name.*[964] *[...] The one who was killed was like old Bert's brother in law. He was finished. That Papunya Tula bloke.*

ii) Revenge killing account #2

Namarari

After that another revenge group came. There was another old man Tjaliwan who was living at Yirranytja,[965] *he was a Tjakamarra. He saw them, and said, "Oh! There is a revenge party coming to spear." They came and speared and speared. They pulled out and pulled out their spears. They came from Amata it was said. They speared a woman who was mother to me. Then they went back. I feel sorry for her. That same man used to spear meat and give it to us. He gave us emu, kangaroo, and rock kangaroo. He used to rub the spear like this, it was just like a rifle bullet. He was number one. After spearing him they went back to Haasts Bluff. One of those men was a relative of ours, he had a head band on. After that we lived and lived and went and entered Haasts Bluff, and lived there. A group of them came to us wanting to fight. The spears were flying. They were dodging them. A spear would come here, another here.*

Batty

Did you throw a spear that got him here?

Namarari

Yes, I mean No. They stopped spearing. The spears came. One would have to get him here. When they spear the proper way it is pretty dangerous. [...] They all missed each other and they talked together and stopped, because of the dark. "Your revenge party came and speared your own relatives. You went and speared to death your own relative. I feel sorry for him. He was our old man." They talked and became what? Then the sun went down, at Haasts Bluff.

(End of extract)

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[963] Hansen: Mick misunderstood Batty's question and thought he was talking of the victim saying, "Was he a whitefella?"

[964] Hansen: I don't know this as a kinship term, I think it was his bush name. He is saying that the Tjakamarra's name is Walinykarri.

[965] Hansen: perhaps "Yirranytja" might be "Yirranytjungka" which would be 'at Irranytji'.

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